

ESSAYS,
HISTORICAL,
POLITICAL AND MORAL:

ESSAYS

HISTORICAL

POLITICAL AND MORAL



1. A Robber from America first View,
Who wants to rob and plunder Ireland too.
2. Next fickle Janus O—e, who'll still go,
Where e'er soft Golden Gales of Int'rest blow.
3. With these a fit Associate appears—
Sure all must know As M—n by his Ears.

Brutus Delin.

THE FI
TRAVELL

draw near,
near —
hur there!



Delin^t

FIVE ELLERS

4. A Fox's head to W—r's neck see I join'd;
Fit Emblem of his Crafty, treacherous Mind!
5. Last view M——y, that Knave and Fool,
Hibernia's Bastard son, and Stillbrough's tool;
See Pluto driving them to his Abode,
Sure Charon's boat had never such a Load.

ESSAYS,
HISTORICAL,
POLITICAL AND MORAL;
BEING A PROPER
SUPPLEMENT
TO
BARATARIANA.

By BRUTUS,

AND

HUMPHREY SEARCH.

In Two VOLUMES.

VOLUME II.

Libertas ei natale solum.

DUBLIN:

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ESSAYS

HISTORICAL

POLITICAL AND MORAL

AND

CRITICAL

OF THE

ARTS

AND

SCIENCE

IN THE

SEVENTEENTH

CENTURY

BY

DEDICATION

To the Most Noble the
MARQUIS of KILDARE,
and DOCTOR WILLIAM
CLEMENT, Representa-
tives in *Parliament* for
the City of DUBLIN.

My Lord and Sir,

ANCIENT and modern fe-
nators, who have been faithful to
their trusts, who have *stemmed*
the *torrent* of corruption, or pro-

DEDICATION.

ved *guardians* to the *rights* and *privileges* of the people (when the *tide* of *power* ran against them) have always *merited* and generally received the highest marks of affection from the public. The constant tenor of your conduct since ye were honoured with the important care of your worthy constituents interests, having gained you the esteem of all *honest*, independent men, has induced us to dedicate this volume to you, not in the hackneyed stile of mercenary dedications, but to pay the *just tribute* due to *tried*, *conspicuous*

DEDICATION.

cuaus merit, and if possible, to *heighten* the people's *confidence* in, and regards for you, by frequently reminding them, not only of your important services, but of the wise, unbiaſſed choice, that has done them ſo much honour.

THE writings of the authors, who now addreſs you, in defence of conſtitutional freedom, are the *pure, uninfluenced ſentiments* of independent, *Iriſh proteſtants*, who wiſh well to all mankind. They are the determined, unalterable friends to *civil and religious liber-*

DEDICATION.

ty, in their just and full extent; enemies to *selfish, sinister designs*, and to all licentiousness in principle and practice. The critical, distressed situation of this kingdom dictated our duty to us, and directed our activity (as far as our abilities extended) to its welfare and safety. Without a *just jealousy* and vigilance of their *privileges*, without the *glorious, animating* spirit of liberty being *kept alive*, *free states* will soon fall into *slavery and ruin*. To preserve this, is one great design of the following essays.

THE

DEDICATION.

THE *Janus's*, who formerly deceived us, acted in character, and are fallen into the contempt they deserve. The professions of some amongst them were known to be insincere, and only made to raise the *wages of corruption*. Others have given the most *satisfying, expensive* proofs of their being *in earnest*, in the *service* of their country. *Perseverance alone* can place *them conspicuously* in the *temple of honour*, as the just reward of *approved triumphant virtue*. The time is at hand when *Ireland* will *know* and expect the

DEDICATION.

assistance of her real friends, that she may be saved from the evil devices and designs of a numerous host of *prostitutes* and *parricides*!

To such *firm, unshaken* senators we presume not to point out the *great line* of *duty*; but we cannot help observing, that no temptations whatsoever, no arguments, however plausible, should induce our representatives to agree to an union, nor any of its supposed advantages listened to, which will
in

DEDICATION.

in the end prove fallacious.* The arguments against it, appear to us to be conclusive and unanswerable; nor have they (tho' for some time laid before the public) been controverted.

By the *high price of provisions*, by *loans and taxes*, our trade and manufactures labour under perpetual depression. By these, and a *vain, destructive fondness for foreign fopperies*, our grand *staple and support*,---the *linen*, has of late,

* We refer to the letters against a *Stamp act*, published in this volume.

DEDICATION.

late much declined, and this declension encreases *dangerous depopulating emigrations*. New *taxes* must be the consequence of *an union*, and it is easy to see, that when these shall take place, a quick decay in this *great branch* of business must follow, for we shall then be underfold by foreigners. The *evasive mode* of entry, in which they are at present indulged, enables them already to do this, as the *savings thereby* are more than *double* of what is received by us, in the *way of bounty* on this *article*. This ought to be
particu-

DEDICATION

particularly attended to by *the great*; for by the *advance* and *flourishing state* of our *linen manufacture*, the landed interest in this kingdom was *amazingly increased*: By its decline it will, in time, fall back into its low, original value. Nor can any partial, paltry advantages to certain *towns*, or *individuals*, make amends for the removal of our *senate*, our *nobility* and *gentry*, or the causing such a change in *property* and *political situation*;—for the loss of our *independence* and *importance* as a *nation*, or a degrading surrender of
our

DEDICATION.

our liberties into men's hands, who, when the *glorious, invaluable negative*, we are now in possession of shall be *wrested from us*, may dictate to us in the language of *despotism*. We shall then appear *mean*, even in our own eyes, nor will any lamentations that can be made, be able to restore us to our former happy state. Bereft of our *national dignity and honour*, of our present privileges and significance, *life* will rather be *endured* than *enjoyed*, by generous minds!

As

DEDICATION.

As to a *stamp act*, it would
teem with *accumulated mischiefs*
to this exhausted country. It
seems *big with evils* to *literature*,
liberty and *commerce*. It would
damp our *genius* and *spirits*, and
prove an heavy clog to almost
every branch of business. By origi-
nating new *boards* and *officers*, the
power of the crown (already too
great) would be strengthened;
nor can we well think of any *act*
being *established*, that would so ef-
fentially destroy our liberties, or
more effectually lay our *privi-
leges* and *properties* at the mercy
of

DEDICATION.

of government. Under the *pressure* of this, and *numerous, ill-laid taxes*, the *English* commerce at present groans. Let this deter us from drawing with them, under the same *galling yoke*. We have neither strength nor inclination for so hazardous an *undertaking*, and should surely *sink under it*. We shall think ourselves happy, if our patriotick representatives concur with us in these sentiments;---and whilst we experience the heart-felt satisfaction of addressing men who have *stood firm*

DEDICATION.

firm to their country's interests, in the *days* of *trial*, we cannot at the same time help observing that a *Patriot*, (or a person apprehended to be so) who *recedes* from *virtue*, is of all characters the most contemptible. Like *Judas*, he brings *disgrace* on, and *betrays* the *best cause*;--He *merits* the *same fate*! But the man of *tried* integrity, whose country never lay at the mercy of any selfish passion, whilst he conciliates the publick esteem and confidence,

DEDICATION.

dence, does honour to human nature itself.

We are, with great esteem, Sirs,

Your most humble Servants,

BRUTUS,

AND

HUMPHREY SEARCH,

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L E T T E R S
H I S T O R I C A L,
P O L I T I C A L A N D M O R A L.

L E T T E R XXIX.

To the COMMITTEE for conducting the
FREE-PRESS.

*And write about it, Goddefs, and about it.
Such shameless men we have; and yet 'tis true,
There are as mad, abandon'd critics too.
Some judge of authors names, not works, and then
Nor praise, nor blame the writings, but the men.
The bookful blockhead, ignorantly read,
With loads of learned lumber in his head;
With his own tongue, still edifies his ears,
And always list'ning to himself appears. POPE.*

GENTLEMEN,

POLITICAL writers of sense
and ingenuity, when unable to defend their cause,
Vol. II. B generally

generally give it up with a good grace. This is honourable, and only shews a man to be wiser than when he took the wrong side of the question. Our dogmatical smatterers, whose weak, exhausted powers have for some time been on the tenter-hooks of invention to defend their Paymaster, will, I verily believe, be silenced by nothing but death. They seem to think, that giving the last word will revive their lost cause, and keep up their literary credit with the public. There being nothing left to answer, we shall, like them, ramble about, but not to do mischief. The attack was begun by themselves: They have not only received a general answer, but the merits of every particular have been tried; the account fairly stated and settled, and witnessed to by the public. The objections of *Brutus* to the *Townshend* administration, all made good, and supported *article by article*. The five new Commissioners have been shewn by *Search*, to be unnecessary and burthensome, and he has called on the officers of the revenue (not the *mercenary* cattle *assertors* of *any thing*) to shew the contrary. The political principles of the Protestant Dissenters, which (by authority) were unprovokedly called into question, have been defended by authorities from Parliament; by the testimonies of the most unexceptionable writers, who have been friends to truth and liberty, as well as by reason and historical facts.

The

The evils and disturbances that have happened in the state; the dangers to which the freedom of the constitution and our privileges have been exposed, were shewn, from irresistible evidence, to have arisen from the ecclesiastical *hierarchy*, which, under the influence of the *prerogative*, hath ever proved unfavourable to liberty. The writers on the other side have been repeatedly called on for a reply, founded on authorities and evidence equally respectable; nay, to offer any thing that had the appearance of reason and argument. They were *bankrupts* in every thing of this sort. A victory, full and compleat on the side of liberty was acknowledged by the public. The literary campaign was thought to have been over, and the forces had declared their intentions to quit the field of battle, and part was drawn off: In this unguarded state, when they thought they might march and bully with impunity, like the Pretender's forces, they rallied, either through shame, reproaches from the *general*, the desire of pillage, or to give a cowardly back-stroke to *liberty herself*: They pretended to stand again on the defensive, and said they had a *something*, a manifesto to issue out: The *frothy thing* was at last spit forth with as much gall and venom as they had left, but not a single word to the point,—or authority produced; no argument invalidated, nor the merits of the question once touched upon. Their scouts had

been out gleaming up some scraps of old rhetoric, these, with the jingle of the following words composed the chief of their reply, viz. *mirror, masqued battery, apostrophes, metaphors, allusions, &c. &c.* and though every objection to the present administration stands in full force, the *mulish fit*, which I thought I had cured them of, returned: They commenced wholesale dealers; would not be confined to *weigh* the *articles* singly, but lumped the *Townshend* measures all together, and declared they were—*very good*: They even apologized not, for dishonouring the late King's memory, and threw a glance of reproach on Lord *Chesterfield's* administration, insinuating, that no laws were then passed for the improvement of the constitution. How wretched an observation is this? The enemy was then at our doors: Instead of framing new laws, we were much better employed, in preparing to preserve our old ones, or to defend our constitution, instead of improving it. There would have been fine work in this kingdom had the coarse, military arm of Lord *Townshend* been stretched over us at that critical juncture. But these miserable defenders of government will say any thing. Some time ago Lord *Chesterfield* was every thing. In one of their hotch-potch collections——when they made a quotation from *Hume*, he was then, the penetrating *philosophic Hume*: When quoted against them, he was brought

brought upon a level with themselves, and called—a Jacobite writer. O ye Scribes and Pharisees! will ye never be consistent, after all the advice I have given ye? Will nothing make you feel and act like men? I fear not; and with the poet, we may take it *as a rule*—No creature smarts so little as a fool. But be assured, that all such rhapsodies and effusions of nonsense that have nothing to say to the merits of the cause, have no more weight with the public than the guldering soliloquy of a turkey-cock, or the cackling of geese; the braying of an ass, or the oratory of a parcel of fishwomen speaking all at once over a bottle of whisky. Indeed, in this last gladiatorial flourish their style hobbles so on the stilts of pedantry, that there is no knowing what they would be at. Their thoughts but float upon the surface of an argument, and their imaginations are so costly, that they *strain* from *hard-bound brains* the very excrescences of *sophistry* and *corruption*, so offensive to the public: The very dregs of every Tory writer they know, have been drained off and squeezed into the service. But, as their oracle, *Swift*, says, (of whom hereafter) they seem not to be acquainted with either *text* or *margent*, nor even with some eminent brethren of their own order; I would have them to scrape up an acquaintance with such men: There are, in their works, some *old rusty weapons of argument*, that if

vamped up and burnished, might compose a little magazine of Jacobitism, out of which they might be supplied with arms, and sally forth with great advantage against the enemy. *Collier* and Sir *Roger L'Estrange*, will furnish them with some smart sayings and assertions. Archdeacon *Echard* gives several home thrusts against the Whigs and Presbyterians. There is likewise excellent prog in that *amphibious* kind of an author, and a queer fish he is—*Salmon*, who, in his history of all nations, (a leaden performance) fires bullets at the *Geneva church*, the *Dutch*, *Scotland*, and when tipsy, *grape shot*, at the Whigs and Low Churchmen. But *South* will prove a perfect *Mine*, a treasure!—He has delightful touches at the Dissenters; is an high flyer of the first magnitude; sits on the very rigging of the church, and lets fly at the Presbyterians without mercy. *Swift* himself is evidently an imitator of his stile and manner. As the *hirelings* seem not to have an easy conception in composition, these hints may save them much trouble, and prevent their casting forth, *so many still-born brats*, or monstrous mishapen births, so disagreeable to the public. But advice is lost on such mercenaries, who can see no farther than their interests, and who are at any time ready to throw, even the *vitals* of their country, to be devoured by any *state cormorant*, or bird of prey or passage, that would give them share
of

of the spoil. They are already run into contempt, by all the rules of literary discipline—and so many writs of error, of their own drawing, are out against them, that it is to be feared, we shall never see a recovery of judgment. This, at present, is no great matter, as we expect peaceable times under his succeeding *Excellency*, and to keep up a body of *Swiss forces*, when peace shall be declared, would not be good policy. But should war again be proclaimed, they could never be taken into pay, unless for an ambuscade, as they have hitherto only skirmished, and were always worsted. We however earnestly hope, that we shall never more see government writers again in this kingdom. They are worse than debentures, drawn every three months; at—a double Premium, or a loan of five per cent.—which never fails to cripple the banks, and wound commerce. We hope, likewise, never to see the * *drunken Colonel*, acted any where, but in the *Theatre*. It is quite out of character in the Castle; the Palace was never designed for the contemptible tribe of Apes—Figure-Dancers—Buffoons, needy Scribblers and Expectants, Parasites and Sycophants, that of late have infested and disgraced it. The *court of Comus* was never designed to be kept there, nor his motley, vagrant crew of revelers to disturb the seat of government. We

* Alluding to Lord Townshend.

now expect to see these, with an unmanly dissipation, a coarse, sottish luxury, and low buffoonery, succeeded, by purity and refinement of manners, and—on all proper occasions, an *elegant profusion*, suitable to the *representative* of Majesty. We wish also to see in our chief Governor, an *easy* dignity of behaviour, with a becoming grace in conduct and deportment—and that the lovely train of public and private virtues, generosity and disinterestedness, truth and sincerity, will be his constant attendants. These will give a true lustre to, and make happy his administration. The external glare of station can only catch little minds. The others confer lasting and solid honour. If I mistake not, Lord *Harcourt* was once appointed Preceptor or Governor to his present Majesty, when Prince of Wales, and was displaced to make way for a *Butean* pedagogue. If so—this is a presumption of *Whiggism* and *honesty*; and that we shall now be delivered from the dangerous gang of Tory writers that infested the newspapers; and were endeavouring to disunite and weaken the Protestant interest, and to poison the minds and principles of the people. For the truth of this I appeal to every one, the *libellers* of King George II. and his *mob government* excepted, whose chief employment was the producing tortured quotations from Jacobite authors to support despotism, or their own venality. O

Harcourt

Harcourt!—If there be any dear, sincere friends—of yours here, let them honestly warn you against such dangerous tools of government. There is contagion in their breath and principles. They will, no doubt, endeavour to thrust themselves into your service and good opinion, and officiously display your portrait, by laboured encomiums, in the public papers—Nay, they will produce Lord *Townshend's* certificate for their having lived soberly and honestly, (neither of which was the case.) Admit them not even into your presence—Banish their very *word-bunter* in the dictionary and spelling-book, from the precincts of the palace. Should any of your measures be defended by them, that moment your name and administration will be sullied, in the eyes of the people. Let the friends of his Excellency be vigilant in this, and at once forbid a repetition of such daring presumption, for if continued more than once, the public will think it is by permission, and will withdraw their good opinion, just as they would, of a woman of character, in private life, if, when aspersed, a prostitute should appear in her defence. When just and generous, and a friend to our liberties and commerce, Lord *Harcourt*, will find us a loving, loyal people, but we are *all eyes*, as to our rights and privileges, and nobly jealous of our free and legal constitution. He has had a *foil* to set off his administration. It can scarcely

miss in being successful. Queen *Elizabeth* had this advantage, but indeed in a much higher degree, by the unprecedented cruelty of her predecessor. Our present Governor, must now surrender his *fortress*, the *Castle*, but alas! he cannot march out, (soldier as he is) with flying colours, and all the honours of administration, viz. the affections of the people, and a conscientiousness of having made them happy. Five years military execution on liberty and the freedom of the constitution; the stripping a gallant officer of his commission for faithfully doing his duty, prevent him the having that high honour. Still, however, with respect to us he has some merit. Several good laws have passed, and they must be put to his credit. The good qualities of an enemy, when fallen, or when going to remove, for *ever* from us, will force themselves on our remembrance. The Octennial Bill—the bounty on our Linen—the tax laid on Absentees, with some others, will serve to put us in mind of him—(I almost begin to be sorry at taking leave)—But oh! so will the prorogation, the augmentation (both of *the army* and *national debt*)—*Twelve men in buckram*—all Commissioners, (five of which have been proved useless) and the robbery of Sir *Edward Newenham*, with some others, &c. &c. &c. &c.—No—I am not sorry—I recant—he must go—that's pos:—But I will tell him, how he may yet
make

make a decent exit. His jollity and good humour on some occasions intitle him to this. *Cato* himself *shall* advise him on this singular occasion—Hear what he says—Bid him disband his legions*,

Restore the Common wealth to liberty; †
The judgment stand of Patriot Senators:
Bid him do this—the public are his friends.
Nay more, though *Brutus* † voice, was ne'er
employ'd,

To clear the guilty or to varnish crimes,
Himself shall write through Free-Press in his
favour;

And strive to gain his pardon from the people.

BESIDE this advice, *Search* has again, to remind his Excellency, of the usual charity given to the poor of this city, by departing Viceroy.

* A sawn from *Sacheverel*, of Jacobite Scribblers, the fry of which is remarkably plenty in troubled waters.
—The venal tribe of luxurious Buffoons and Sycophants:
—Reduce the Pension 1,400.—Discharge five use'less Commissioners, in doing of which, pick the worst, for they were forced upon the public, by a stretch of the prerogative, contrary to a resolution of Parliament, and consequently are paid out of the people's money without their consent.

† Get the detestable Riot Act repealed.—Let Sir *Edward Newenham* be restored to his Place; through him, the Freedom of Parliament was violently struck at.

N. B. The Board of Works is considered as a state auxiliary.

‡ A celebrated writer for Liberty.

Lord

Lord *Hertford*, whose prudence and parsimony are well known, though he had kept his hand and heart close shut for six months, yet opened both on that occasion, and freely gave 210*l.* for a safe and pleasant passage to the water side. He had but six months to scrape up what he could, from this poor country, (but indeed it must be a bare soil, from which he would not reap something) your Excellency has been five years at this work, and 2000*l.*—is your proportion of charity. It would hardly, my Lord, be felt amongst 20,000 wretched human creatures in this metropolis. But it shall be applied with the utmost care and frugality, to the necessities of every denomination. This will be a noble monument to leave behind you, and your Lordship must know *one* of the *effects*, on the giver, ascribed to charity in the Scripture. I need not name it to one so well read in sacred history. I think it impertinent to meddle in any of his Excellency's domestic concerns; and though it may make a dry parting betwixt you and some expecting friends, yet I have condemned the officious mention, of the remaining port wine, intended to be shipped with your Lordship. Why may not every man if he pleases be his own *Supercargo*? And did my Lord put up *certain* *writers* among the baggage, and slip off all together, it would not cause an ill-natured reflection: For though a mere, simple mess of dulness
can

can do no great mischief, yet, if at any time—highly seasoned with Jacobitism, it might tempt weak people to taste, and perhaps prove a slow poison. If it were not an infringement on liberty, I could wish, that the works of all suspected authors, were made to perform, at least, a six weeks quarantine, before publication, lest the plague of Tory principles, should escape from such stolen, contraband goods, and infect the minds of the people. As to the authors themselves, they have my general benevolence, and I desire their welfare, because I wish them better manners; in this, I have not so much merit as the woman at the play, who, when the Devil was entering to act his part, and happening to sneeze,—she bid God bless him. But we shall all of us soon be treated with a raree shew, never before seen in this kingdom, viz.—*Two Kings of Brentford at once in the Castle*. That will be a sight indeed! *A day we never saw before!* I hope the master of the ceremonies will be well instructed on the occasion—and though it is *November*, have a proper nosegay prepared, (as in *the Rehearsal*) at which the Kings may alternate y smell, to shew their equality, but as one of them—is soon to smell off, perhaps the remaining King may require two applications of it, for one, by way of eminence. And should the guards to line the streets be denied to the *sneaking off King*, it will not, I believe, break
his

his heart, as his secretion or flight, will not be so remarkable. But we doubt not—a *Privy Council* will equitably settle this matter. Or peradventure the old King will, as to the mode of his exit, think,—*the post of safety, to be a private station*. Be this as it may, we hope a new face of things will soon appear—that trade and manufactures will revive, our commerce be enlarged and improved, agriculture and industry be encouraged—Bad laws repealed,—The police amended, abuses rectified, and order and æconomy run through every department of the state. The spirit of party will then subside,—and our Nobility and Gentry, will, as formerly, meet like good friends at the Castle. Our traders and shopkeepers will soon feel the happy influence of such harmony, and the voice of discontent and lamentation shall no more be heard. To crown all—Let Protestants of every denomination, be as one man in defence of our rights and privileges. Their real interests are one, and inseparably united. What God hath thus joined together let no man dare, hereafter, to put asunder. Though this hath lately been attempted by the enemies to liberty, yet have they been baffled in all their designs. Their narrow, malevolent principles, fostered by littleness of mind, prompted them to put the Protestant Dissenters in mind of their inferior station in the community. This they glory in; whilst
their

their freedom is preserved, the road to truth left open, and their search after it unobstructed. They look upon the Protestants of the establishment as their beloved brethren, embarked in the same cause, and are convinced that the wise and moderate amongst them are incapable of that mean, spiritual pride which arises from the emoluments of a state establishment. To such as are or would basely insult them for the want of these, I will only reply to them in the words of the following fable; viz. One rivulet meeting another, with whom he had been long united in the strictest amity, with noisy haughtiness thus bespoke him: What, brother, still in the same state! Still low and creeping!—Are you not ashamed, when you behold me, who, though lately in a like condition with you, am now become a great river, and shortly shall be able to rival the *Danube* or the *Rhine*, provided those friendly rains continue which have favoured my banks, but neglected yours? Very true, replied the humble rivulet, you are now, indeed swoln to a great size; but, methinks, you are become somewhat *turbulent* and *mudily*;—I am contented with my low condition and my purity.

LET every man be the same, who is, by Providence, placed in a lower station and he will be happy; for in the great drama of human life, (or even on the stage) it is not always the man
who

who acts the higher character that is the happiest, or comes off with the greatest applause, but he who performs his part according to nature, and makes his exit with a becoming grace. The intended strictures on the political principles and conduct of *Swift*, with the reasons why his evidence ought not to be admitted where any question relating to liberty is in debate, must, as the Parson says, be reserved to another opportunity. Consider what has been said, and may good sense and virtue give you understanding in all things. Amen.

HUMPHREY SEARCH.

L E T T E R - XXX.

To the COMMITTEE for conducting the
FREE-PRESS.

Dead, or alive, I'll strike for Liberty.

Old Soldier, a poem.

(Continued from our last.)

GENTLEMEN,

WHEN an author's reputation is once established, the generality of readers

ers pay great deference to his judgment. Whatever he says, carries with it the stamp of authority. But men of sense and impartiality are not swayed by great names, or commonly received opinions: They bring every argument and proposition to the bar of improved reason: They try them by their natural notions of the Deity, and his all-perfect government over free agents; by their uncorrupted sense of good and evil, and original christianity. If found contradictory to these, they are at once rejected, as sophistry and delusion. If our search after truth be not thus directed, we may be led unawares, into the mists of error, from whence it will be difficulty to get into the plain, safe road of nature and common sense. Bewildered in the regions of fancy, our enquiries will be fruitless and unavailing, or we shall feed on the dreams and imaginations of fallible men. This is most unmanly, and an affront to the reason and moral powers bestowed on us by our munificent Creator. By so doing, we break in upon the order of his creation, and are unworthy of the high rank we bear among his works. The faculties of our minds being intrusted to our own management and improvement, we should, as it were, learn to trade on our own stock, and not so often borrow from that of others. In the republic of letters, it is not to names, or to human authority, that attention and belief are given,
but

but to rational arguments, founded in nature, or to strong probability, where evidence fails. Truth hath nothing to say to names, or to opinions, however ancient. An author, how great soever his abilities, may in some branches of science he hath written upon, be erroneous or superficial. He may, beside, have prejudices, arising from education, and opinions hastily adopted; or his judgment may be warped, by interest, and regard to a party. An universal genius is seldom to be seen. The natural, or moral philosopher, of the first class, would perhaps have been but a bad poet or musician; or the man of wit and humour, but an indifferent politician, and so on. Nature has widely distributed her gifts, to her children, that from a diversity in talents and accomplishments, a beautiful harmony might arise, and the happiness of the whole be promoted. Some men have been most richly endowed, and excelled in many branches of knowledge: When such have erred, and under the sanction of a great name, have published and defended their mistakes, it has proved hurtful to society in many instances. *Swift* was one of these;—and it is hoped, that these reflections will not be thought unsuitable to some remarks on his political conduct and principles. Sentiments, drawn from these, have of late, been brought as proofs, in favour of writings, everlive of liberty, and designed to
weaken

weaken and divide the Protestant interest. But authorities, from party writers, however respectable, should never be admitted as evidence. That our author was of this class, in the full sense of the word, I shall endeavour to prove; and if successful, it ought, in future, to prevent tortured quotations, written in the heat of party, from being of any weight in our debates on civil and religious liberty. All I have to request, is a fair hearing, in a cause, where old and strong prejudices are in favour of my antagonist. A person not armed, or strengthened, by the authority of literary fame, encountering such a *Colossus*, in the learned world, advances to the contest with many prejudices against him. *David*, had the same, when he combated *Goliath*; and if, like him, we have strength enough to *sling the stone of truth*, or wield the weapons of argument against his political edifice, (built, we trust, on a sandy foundation) though it may not tumble, yet it may be so shaken, as that few will like to stand by, or take shelter under its protection. *Swift* had a gigantic, noble, well improved genius, but sadly misapplied, and abused to the mean purposes of a party. *Strength*, *precision*, and great *correctness*, mark many of his writings. *Wit*, he had a very uncommon share of, but not of that fine kind, which *Pope* possessed. Keen satire, (often well pointed) and humorous description, were his *strong holds*,
his

his *impregnable fortrefs*. Few of the sons of men would be able to drive him from his citadel. It is only his *out works*, defended by slavish, mercenary troops, that I hope to force, some of which may be taken by the small arms of argument. We are not so much going to consider him, as a *writer*, as a party man, stimulated by interest and disappointment. Sir *William Temple* was the protector of his youth, his first friend and patron. He recommended him to the *immortal King William*, who offered to make him a Captain of Horse, which he refused, his inclinations leading him to the church. The King had promised him preferment, for in a letter to his uncle he says—I am not to take orders, till his Majesty gives me a prebend. Though none of *Swift's* biographers mention it, yet I think it very probable, that the penetrating monarch, who was the true son of liberty, saw into his narrow principles, for he never promoted him; and though after Sir *William Temple's* death, our author danced attendance at court, and even dedicated Sir *William's* works to the King, yet he scarcely ever took notice of him afterwards. On leaving the *Dublin University*, *Swift* went to *Oxford*, to finish his studies. At that polluted fountain, which was much more than tinged with *Jacobitism*, he took in large draughts of political heresy, which by the heat of party, were fermented into Tory principles of the strongest and

and most dangerous kinds. The *leaven* of these, mixed with many disappointments, soured his temper, (which naturally was not sweet) and politics ever after. About that time, when the *ecclesiastics* were raging with the fanaticism, of *divine hereditary right*, or the like impious cant of faction, a young clergyman being recommended to Archbishop *Tennison* for preferment, was asked by his Grace, *whether* the *young man* had not got the *plague*—and added, he had some of the tokens upon him, by his coming from *Oxford*. Such was the character of the University where *Swift* had drank in science, and received his degrees. His views of preferment from King *William* being at an end, he afterward attended Lord *Berkley* to *Ireland*, as Chaplain and private Secretary—who, in some time bestowed on him two small livings. He would have been made Dean of *Derry*, but Doctor *King* who was the then Bishop, told the Government, that being surrounded with Presbyterians, *Swift's* conduct and principles would be very unsuitable to such a place; on which he was again disappointed. This does some honour to the Dissenters, and was no doubt one reason for his great dislike to that body. Soon after, he returned to *England*, where scenes opened, that gave full scope to his abilities to exert themselves in. The parties for Whig
and

and Tory ran high. The struggle was great and interesting. Our author embarked thoroughly in the Tory cause, and threw every power nature had lavished on him into their scale. Pity such talents had not been better applied! The change of the Whig, for a Tory Ministry, in 1710—gave him an ample opportunity of displaying his genius; but we shall soon see his great abilities debased to the worst purposes, that of defending measures, ever sive of liberty, and destructive to the public safety. When he attached himself to that ministry, he was too wise not to have known, that their designs were arbitrary, and that they had been thrust into power, by court intrigues, contrary to the sense of the nation, whose glory and prosperity under the former administration had been carried, almost to their highest pitch. The affections of the people will ever be on the side of such a government. But his interest and ambition got the better of every consideration, and he avowedly stood forth, the abettor of despotism, and of high Church, Tory principles: Witness, his *examiners*, written in the true spirit of party, in which are assertions and propositions, which if closely pursued in their consequences, properly sifted and separated, or tried by a fair paraphrase, would lay the foundation for rulers to exercise an arbitrary jurisdiction, would lead to the impious doctrines of a
divine

divine hereditary right, (to do mischief) of passive obedience and non-resistance—or to the quick-sands of unlimited toryism, which never fail to swallow up, every free, independent, loyal and liberal principle, both in religion and politics. The leading articles of a political creed, founded on such tenets, would be, that the *Revolution*, was a tyranny, and not to be defended; the *Hanover* succession, a displacing or robbing, the *Lord's anointed*; or that, whenever people stand up for their rights and liberties, or resist wicked tyrants that would destroy them, they ought to perish by the sword. In a letter of *Swift's* to Archbishop *King*, dated 20th of *October* 1713, you will see the complexion of the party he had espoused, and may judge whether any man who could write the part I shall transcribe, could be a friend to our free and legal constitution. It relates to *Ireland*, and will shew how little he then had our real welfare at heart. The paragraph runs thus: "If your
 " House of Commons should run into any violences disagreeable to us here, it will be of the
 " worst consequences imaginable to that kingdom." (Observe this was in the critical year 1713, when they were playing the mischief, and going to sign the peace of *Utrecht*.) His Reverence goes on, "For I know no maxim more
 " strongly maintained at present, in our court, (you would think he was one of the ministry)
 " than

“ than that her Majesty ought to exert her pow-
 “ er to the utmost, upon any uneasiness given
 “ on your side, to herself or her servants.”
 (There was then a majority of patriots in the
 Irish House of Commons, and greatly afraid
 were the Tory Ministry of their proceedings)
 The pious Secretary concludes, viz: “ Neither
 “ can I answer, that even the legislative power
 “ here may not take cognizance of any thing that
 “ may pass among you, in opposition to the *per-*
 “ *sons* and principles both *excellent*) that are now
 “ favoured by the Queen, (he himself was one
 “ of them.) Perhaps I have gone too far, &c.
 “ &c.” A great deal too far indeed! for if the
 deliberations of our Senators are to be squared
 to court principles, and their counsels intimidat-
 ed, farewell liberty! What an affront this to a
 House of Commons, that nothing must pass in
 opposition to the *persons* and *principles* of the
 Queen’s favourites! Oh poor Ireland! how low
 then wast thou fallen! Shall the writer of this
 letter, (fit only for a *Paris Parliament*) or the
 man who so strenuously defended that arbitrary
 wicked ministry, be ever brought in as an *evi-*
 dence, where any question relating to liberty is
 concerned? The papers called the *examiners* are
 too notorious to be quoted; every one knows
 their tendency. I therefore chose to give a spe-
 cimen from his letters, as a person’s real senti-
 ments are better seen thereby, than by papers
 written

written in the rage of party. In the *examiners*, the foundations of civil government are not explained, nor the peoples rights hardly mentioned; when they are, it is with great coldness, and hastily skimmed over. Like our *modern mercenaries*, he often quits his subject to ridicule or abuse the persons on the other side, as if they had any thing to say to the argument. "We have seen," says he, "footmen removed from behind the coach into the inside, and the livery left off for the laced coat: Princes have been made out of Pages, *Chancellors* out of *Clerks*, and the *white Staff* and *blue Ribbon* bestowed, as play things, upon the *Lacquey* or *Bye-blow*." See Exam. 12th Jan. 1712. Some of these marvels are invented; and are answered by saying, that he might have seen wonders still greater, viz. a Presbyterian retrieving the honour of the church. A Dissenter, from taking notes at a Conventicle, dictating at the Council Table, or governing a High Church Queen. (*Harley* and *Bolingbroke* were both bred at Dissenting Academies) A Barrister helping the Crown to an heir: The issue of a Lawyer's daughter ruling three kingdoms: The Grand-daughter of *Chancellor Hyde* holding the Sceptre by hereditary right: A *God's Vicegerent* upon earth, descended from a *Wiltshire* Justice of Peace. This is *measure for measure*, in his own way, but foreign to the argument. It is evident, from ma-

ny circumstances, that the chief police of the Tory administration was to destroy the spirit of liberty, that the restoration of a banished family might be effected with the less difficulty. None could deny this, but such whose business and safety lay in so doing. *Swift* must have been fully sensible how unfit a Prince was bred up at the feet of *Gamaliel*, in *Rome*, and under the influence of *French* counsels, to be the guardian of the rights and privileges of a free people, or the resolute defender of their religion and liberties. But, though these were exposed to the most imminent danger, it loosened not the attachment of *Swift*, either to his interest or party: Regardless of the event, he stuck close to the assassins of the constitution, and defended them from insult; whilst they were acting the part of traitors to their country, and preparing to strike at her very vitals. Had he, even in the time of danger, but sounded the alarm, and played the man, in any one instance for the people, it might have drawn a veil over his former perfidy; but liberty was not dear to him: He stood unconcerned, and saw the divine Goddess trampled under foot. *Sir Richard Steele* bravely animated the public to stand firm in defence of the common cause: He published, at that critical period, a pamphlet called the *Crisis*, which was of more real use to the public than all *Swift's* political works put together. Patriot-
ism

ism is a consistent, active principle. How did our author's love to his country shew itself on this trying occasion, when the measures he had promoted and defended brought the nation almost to the eve of a civil war! When he saw all hopes of his preferment at an end, and the *Hanover* succession endangered along with our liberties, instead of rousing the people to a defence of their freedom, he basely retired in gloom and disgust to the house of a clergyman in *Berkshire*, to indulge his spleen, where he shut himself up, regardless of the fate of his country, which a paltry self-interest had made him desert. He appears truly despicable in that situation, especially when writing to *Vanessa* (*Miss Vanhomrigh*) whose heart he stole and broke. The state of his mind will appear, from a paragraph in his letter to that Lady, dated 8 *June*, 1714, viz. "I care not three pence for news, nor have I heard one syllable since I came here. The Pretender or Duke of Cambridge may both be landed, and I never the wiser." Such was his vigilance and concern for the public prosperity. Disappointed of preferment, he cared not what happened. Which seems to have been the case, for he says in another place, "I care not what becomes of posterity, when I consider from what monsters they are to spring." Strange! that a paltry self-interest should have inspired him with such asperity and

malevolence of disposition. The very mode of expression relating to the *Pretender* and Duke of *Cambridge*, carries disaffection in it, and marks him as a selfish, ambitious misanthrope, which, joined to the slavish part he had acted, shews him to have been a *Tory* of the first magnitude. His dislike to *George I.* breaks out in several of his letters: He speaks of him by way of irony, in a letter to *Robert Cope*, Esq; dated 9 *October*, 1722, as follows, "It is a wonderful thing to see the *Tories* provoking his present Majesty, whose mercy and forgiving temper have been so signal, so more than humane; during the whole course of his reign, which plainly appears, not only from his own speeches and declarations, but also from a most ingenious pamphlet just come over, relating to the wicked Bishop of *Rochester*." This same Jacobite Bishop was *Swift's* friend, and had been banished for a treasonable correspondence, and attachment to the *Pretender's* interest. In another place he speaks of the tyranny and oppression practised in that King's reign, though he had never once stretched the prerogative; and his wisdom, love of justice, his clemency and moderation are universally acknowledged. But such sentiments are not to be wondered at, when coming from the writer who calls the glorious *Revolution*, a dangerous expedient, which he says, has since been attended with unavoidable bad

bad consequences. I here appeal to the impartial: Could any man whose breast was warmed with the love of liberty, or of true liberal Protestantism, have thus coldly and unfeelingly spoken of an event, the great *era* of our freedom, the foundation and security of our civil and religious rights? He surely would not. But *Swift* was a stranger to that noble ardor and enthusiasm which liberty and a generous independence inspire. In the course of the argument, we shall see almost every man who was instrumental in bringing about, or a friend to the Revolution, abused and ridiculed. In the year 1711, in order to pave the way for a peace, and to prepare the peoples minds for giving up the advantages of a most successful war, (that had nearly annihilated the *French* power) *Swift* began to write the conduct of the allies, one of his most laboured political pieces; his utmost skill was exerted in this composition, in defending men who had betrayed the nation, and sacrificed its most important interests to their avarice and ambition. *Corruption*, before, never had so able an advocate: Such an exertion of talents, in so bad a cause, was committing a kind of sacrilege on the great powers that were entrusted, by Heaven, to his management and application. One can hardly think him to have been sincere in such a work. All free minded, sensible men are now convinced that the interests of the pub-

lic were treacherously given up, and sold a sacrifice to bribery and *French* Counsels, by the peace of *Utrecht*: *Swift* was foremost in its defence, and went the utmost lengths with the Tory administration in their wicked measures and persecuting principles. Had an adequate peace been made, the Rebellion, which soon followed it, and two succeeding wars would not have taken place: Nor should we ever have heard of the family compact. An exclusive possession of *Newfoundland* and all its banks, would then have been given up to us, almost for the asking; and this would have more essentially hurt the *French* in their Marine, than the loss of all their Sugar islands, as well as have laid the foundation of a durable tranquillity, by destroying this grand nursery for sea men, which should, above all things, have been effected. The peace of 1762, seems to have been made in imitation of that in 1713: Firmness, honesty and resolution would then have given us an exclusive inheritance to that mine of national wealth: Lord *Chatham* spoke near an hour on this single article, but the *Butean*, like the *Harleian* system, was thoroughly pacific, and they would not stand for a trifle with their good friends, the *French*. Indeed, to the 1713 Tory Ministry, peace was absolutely necessary. So early as 1711, the torrent of Whiggism began to rise against them; the nation would neither have intrusted, nor enabled

enabled them to carry on the war: This they were then fully sensible of, and that a *general dissolution* and the *Tower* were unavoidable, did the war continue. The *French* knew this well, and negotiated on the strength of it: They saw the tottering state and corruption of the men in power, and seized the happy opportunity to rescue themselves from destruction. It is observable, that the Queen took physic the very day on which she signed the treaty of *Utrecht*. Politicians have, no doubt, made many puns on the occasion, and seem to think, it was to purge away some quills or doubts that might have remained, previous to so important a business. Be this as it may, it is surprizing to find *Swift*, in one of his letters, calling *Harley* (who had brought both the nation and himself into such critical circumstances) one of the wisest and best ministers he ever knew, when a *Cecil*, a *Walsingham*, and the Worthies in King *William's* reign had preceded him. Nay, both *Strafford* and *Clarendon* were vastly superior to him in abilities and in eloquence. Perhaps the designs of the former were not more arbitrary or dangerous; the integrity of the latter was much more conspicuous, his treacherously winking at the sale of *Dunkirk*, excepted. But extravagant praises of men in power, from expectants, and the tools of government, are neither wonderful nor to be minded. When the Earl of *Oxford* was ap-
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pointed Lord High Treasurer in 1711—Sir *Simon Harcourt*, Lord-Keeper, (Progenitor of our chief Governor) when he had tendered to him the usual oath, made him a speech on the occasion truly fulsome. He told him—"That the Queen who does every thing with the greatest wisdom, has given a proof of it, in the honours she has lately conferred on you, which are exactly suited to your *deserts* and qualifications. (Very fine.)—My Lord, the title which you now bear, could not have been so justly placed on any other of her Majesty's subjects. (O monstrous!)"—The high station, to which her Majesty hath called you, is the just reward of your eminent services, &c. &c.—Here we differ greatly with the Lord Keeper, and could easily name rewards much more suitable. But when *Swift*, before his encomium on Lord *Oxford*, had repeatedly spoken in favour of *Sacheverel*, and warmly espoused his cause, we need not think much of any prostitution of his judgment, or rather honour, that followed. Every one knows, that the fanatical, exploded doctrines of divine hereditary right, of passive obedience and non-resistance, were the Revd. *Inflammatory's* favourite topics, both in the pulpit and conversation. The great offence this gave, the party spirit and flame that were raised, in consequence of an attempt, to chastise that Jacobite son of dulness,

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are likewise well known. He was, in truth, dulness itself, a merely passive instrument, for there is not a single spark of genius to be seen in any of his leaden compositions. But through his *rotten, unfeeling* heart of stone, were these wicked doctrines filtered, in order to poison the minds of the people. They at last became fashionable at court, and had well nigh overset the constitution itself. Every lover of liberty must allow this to have been the case, yet *Swift* calls his being punished, for these doctrines, a *bloody persecution*; a strong phrase, and shews how deeply he had interested himself in *favour* of that *levitical* incendiary. There is a great presumption from this, that these doctrines, big as they are with mischief, were not disagreeable to our author, if so, he could neither have been a friend to the *Revolution*, nor to the *Hanover* succession, for both these are a violation of, and contradiction to them. After the parties had tried their strength on this high flying Levite, he sometime after became very contemptible, even to the Chiefs that had supported him. He in vain solicited preferment in *London*, and when almost every one was ashamed to speak in his interest,—*Swift* took him again, by the hand, and by unwearied applications to Lord *Bolingbroke*, (who did not care to break with him, though he hated *Sacheverel*) had him appointed Rector of *St. Andrew's* in *Holborn*, one of the

most populous parishes in the metropolis. Had *Swift* disliked the principles of his reverend friend, or thought the *instilling* them, into the minds of the people, of bad consequence, as an honest man, and a friend to liberty, he could not have suffered his preferment. And if he was a favourer of his opinions, he could not have been a friend either to the Revolution, or King George I. Indeed, were there nothing else, I scruple not to affirm, that his conduct in this matter, is a sufficient reason, why his authority in any question relating to liberty, should be of no weight, and his evidence, in future be deemed inadmissible. From the whole of what has been offered, there is the strongest presumption of his political heresy; and adherence to Tory principles, of the worst and most dangerous kinds. This will more fully appear, from several characters and particulars, yet to be introduced and considered. The great importance in having such an evidence against liberty taken off, or the force of his testimony weakened, renders a particular discussion necessary, and where the writer is voluminous, the *strictures*, of course, will be enlarged. *Hume*, likewise, ought not to be admitted. He stands strongly suspected, as to religion; and we are sure, he is not a friend to civil liberty, in its full extent, for *reasons*, I have formerly given. I, the rather, mention these

these things, because it will be necessary to take every advantage of, and precaution against the enemy, as one of the chief defenders of our cause, has signified his intention, of withdrawing his assistance; I mean *the noble Brutus*, who I hope will not quit the standard of liberty, while the foe is in the field. This would be to us, what *Achilles's leaving the camp*, was to the *Grecians*; and I hope some *Patroclus* will cause him to return to the charge. His own powers and vigilance, will, of themselves, form an army of observation; and this, at least we shall expect, from his *immoveable patriotism*. Should this be considered, as a mere compliment, it would be wrong; (I hope a change of resolution from it) but even in that light, it differs from most others, being sincere, and coming from the heart.

HUMPHRY SEARCH.

(To be continued.)

LETTER

L E T T E R XXXI.

To the COMMITTEE for conducting the
FREE-PRESS.

Dead or alive, I'll strike for liberty.

Old Soldier, a Poem.

(Continued from our last.)

GENTLEMEN,

IN my last letter, on the political conduct and principles of *Swift*, (founded chiefly on authorities) I did honour to his great abilities, and considered him, as unrivalled in satire and humorous description. These are his strong holds, his fortrefs in which he is still impregnable: But when, through the rage of party, he launches out from his garrison, on the narrow bottom of Tory principles, he may be grappled with to advantage, and is vulnerable in several places. It may be said—O, if the Dean were alive, none durst attack him; that is a mistake, for in the course of our subject, it will appear, that when living, he was both attacked and overcome on the subject of liberty, and made but a very poor retreat. Heartily do I wish he had been lately amongst us.

There

There would have been fine prog for such a genius, in the *turning out, robbing, proroguing, army augmenting, riot-act making, troop marching, hurli burli* administration of a military Chief Governor. But had our author's powers been greater than they were, he could seldom have been victorious on the side he espoused, for our natural, best improved notions of government, just observation, the wisdom of experience, the sense of all free and wise states, as well, as of the people, were against him. When these are on our side, and our arguments rest on truth and nature, what signify the strength and sophistry of any antagonist? The nature of right and wrong can never be altered. *Liberty*, then is the word—and having a good cause, as my motto says, *Dead or alive, I'll strike for it*. I before mentioned the infamous *peace of Utrecht*, by which the honour and interest of the nation, were sacrificed to *French* counsels and intrigues, and to keep the then ministry, in power, who otherwise must have resigned, having lost the confidence of the people. The agents in that dark work, were mostly attainted, banished or driven into contempt. Time and experience have more and more justified the equity of so doing. But this treacherous compromise hath the Revd. Dean (for so we must call him, from 1713) raked in every argument, and exhausted his invention to defend, in his history of the

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four last years of *Queen Anne's* despotic, persecuting reign. I shall make no farther observations on the peace, because, at present, universally condemned, nor will any sensible, impartial man mind what can be said on so indefensible a subject; but shall chiefly confine my observations, to his licentious, indiscriminate abuse of almost every respectable character, that appeared on the side of liberty. By this, his political principles will appear, and some anecdotes be mentioned, that may prove entertaining. Lord *Godolphin*, who had been at the head of the Whig Ministry, was universally esteemed, for the wisdom, the integrity and success of his administration. *Harley* succeeded him as Lord Treasurer. *Swift's* abuse of the former, was most illiberal and unmerited. But that steady Minister was a thorough Whig, and had firmly persevered in the plan laid down by our glorious Deliverer, for weakening the French power, and was nobly successful. He had beside, in some speeches, in the House of Lords, exposed the Jacobite principles, that formerly, and then prevailed in the *Oxford* University. He caused their decree, passed in Convocation, 1683, to be burned by the hands of the Hangman. In speaking of the traitorous assurance of the nonjuring, Protestant clergy, he mentioned the behaviour of Mr. *Collier*, who, at the place of execution, impiously absolved an assassin, who had

had been condemned for conspiring against the life of King *William*. He likewise mentioned *Dr. Brett*, another high-flying Levite, who had adopted the *pious doctrine*, of *authoritative absolution*, which he said was moved to be approved of, by the *Oxford Convocation*, in a late reign, and no censure passed upon the motion. Who can wonder, at the slow progress of religious and civil liberty in those days? The opposition given, and the many advocates that then appeared for despotic measures, when the minds of youth were poisoned with doctrines, everive of liberty, and a true freedom in thinking and acting? But this was the Dean's favourite University, and he of course hated the man who had so exposed it, and so long prevented the promotion of his *patron*, Lord *Oxford*. There is a passage in *Rushworth*, relating to this College, not usually attended to, which, almost proves, arbitrary, slavish principles to have been hereditary in it, viz.—About this time, (1636) the new Statutes, for the University of *Oxford* were published in Convocation. The preface disparaged King *Edward VI.* times and government, declaring the discipline of the University was *discomposed*, by *that King's injunctions*; and that it did revive and flourish again, in *Queen Mary's* days, under Cardinal *Pole*: When, by the much to be desired felicity of those times, an inbred candour supplied the defect of statutes.

tutes. But let us hasten out of bad company, to other eminent personages abused, by our *Reverend Son of Oxford*. The great and victorious Duke of *Marlborough*, who was connected with Lord *Godolphin*, both in patriotic views, and by relationship, could not escape the political rancour of *Swift*. In the historical libel, we have mentioned, he not only basely hints at his want of courage, but calls it in question, without shewing in what instances this ever appeared. The very wantonness of slander itself, appears in the vile insinuation. He was not only the able statesman, but the active, intrepid, successful General. He is allowed, to have given his orders, in the heat of battle, with great clearness and composure; and as far as became a General, was every where, to see them properly executed. The depth and boldness of his designs (till the late war) stood unrivalled. His success doth so, till this day. His Soldiers understood not what it was to retreat. It was a part of military discipline they could not learn under such a leader. Their unlimited confidence in, and ardor to obey the commands of the *old Corporal*, as they used to call him, are the best encomiums on his generalship. Their eloquent dumb shew, on receiving *Swift's* friend, the pacific, and justly suspected Duke of *Ormond*, when their gallant Captain was displaced, would be spoiled by any description.

tion. Had our Revd. Railer (who called the *Revolution*, a *dangerous expedient*, an expression to which the true spirit of liberty would have been a stranger, when our all was at stake) been but a witness to the Duke's situation, and intrepidity, at the battle of *Ramillies*, where he was thrown from his horse, and when on mounting another, in the heat of action, Colonel *Bingfield*, who was holding his Grace's stirrup, had his head shot off by a cannon ball, I say it is probable, that had his Reverence been present in such a scene, he would not have acted the calm, manly part of the General, or shewed the same greatness of mind: For he stayed to give him the *tender look* of humanity—dropt over him, the *tear* of pity, and striking his breast, flew off again, to the *post* of danger, and of *honour*. How contemptible the *chatterings* of a Tory high Priest, when such a scene has taken full possession of a generous mind? But whilst our hero, was bravely fighting our battles abroad, and by repeated victories, adding fame and strength to our arms and country, *Harley*, *Swift* and *Mrs. Masham*, were carrying on the low *intrigues of the back stairs*, at *St. James's*, and meanly supplanting him at home. But here we must consider, that *Marlborough* had deserted from King *James*, went over to King *William*, and was most active in bringing about the Revolution. He had, by unparalleled

unparalleled victories, raised the nation to an high pitch of honour and prosperity. This prevented the Dean's favourites from coming into power, and of course, his advancement. The preference, which *Swift* afterwards, gave to the attainted, banished, Tory Duke of *Ormond*, is well known. After what has been said, we cannot much wonder at his most unmanly, ungentlemanly abuse, of the *Dutchess* of *Marlborough*. His Tory Goddess *Mrs. Masham*, whom he afterwards adulated, was infinitely her inferior in mental and personal accomplishments, but *Swift* suspected, that the *Dutchess* had a finger in the pye, with Archbishop *Sharpe*, and her Grace of *Somerset*, in preventing the Queen from making him a Bishop, till, (as they told her Majesty) he was first made a Christian of. His heart was set upon preferment in *England*, and such as stood in the way to it, were sure of his resentment. It is plain from Bishop *Sharpe's* behaviour, and some other instances, that the free and moderate part of the clergy, looked on him, as a narrow bigot in religion, and a mere state jobber in politics. He was almost unnoticed by a *Clark* and a *Hoadly*, or such men, that were an ornament to their profession, nor does he hardly ever mention such in his letters, but the *Oxford* high Flyers, *passive obedience*, court chaplains, *Sacheverel* and company, with the Tory Ministry, its followers with

with a tribe of Whippers-in, are to be seen in every page. But of all men, his traducing the great and excellent Lord Somers, is most amazing! He was the Statesman, the Gentleman, the Scholar, and Patron of Genius, united. In abusing such worth, one would think, that the rage of party had made the Dean forget, that the tale of a tub was dedicated to him, and likewise the first volume of the Spectator. Indeed, his attack on such a character, marks him as the assassin of merit, and destroys almost all he hath said of every other person in the Whig interest. But this truly noble Lord, had been the firm, determined defender of liberty, in the worst of times; for in the reign of James II. he intrepidly stood up against the dispensing power claimed by the crown, when the majority of Swift's brethren, and of the same livery, in principle, were silent, which some say, gives consent. He was one of the first concertors of the Revolution, which received great assistance from his activity, and the wisdom of his counsels. He had King William's peculiar confidence; no wonder he was obnoxious to the Dean, who in his history says, that Lord Somers, may very deservedly be reputed the head and oracle of the Whig party. Then follows a snouch at the Revolution, (which he seldom misses when it comes in his way) where he adds, viz.—That accident which first produced him into

into the world of pleading, before the Bishops, whom King *James* had sent to the Tower, might have proved a piece of merit, as honourable, as it was fortunate, but the old republican spirit, which the Revolution had restored, began to teach other lessons; that since we had accepted, a *new King*, from a calvinittical common-wealth, (*there's the rub*) we must also admit new maxims, in religion and government. It is a comfort that this new King, as he calls him, did the Calvinists no dishonour. All parties, I think, were very much obliged to him, and *Swift* himself, though he did not seem *sensible* of it, or *own the obligation*. In his maxims relating to *Ireland* we find the following odd paragraph, viz. "Forty years are now passed since the Revolution, when the contention of the *British* Empire was, most unfortunately for us, (in *Ireland*) decided in the least important nation, but with such ravages and ruin executed on both sides, as to leave the kingdom a desert. Neither did the long *Rebellions* in 1641, make half such a destruction of houses, plantations, and personal wealth, in both kingdoms (in *England* and in *this*) as two years campaigns did in ours (*Ireland*) by fighting *England's* battles." Observe, he seems here much to regret what this country suffered by the wars, subsequent to, and in consequence of the Revolution, but I think it was fortunate.

fortunate for us, and every lover of liberty, that they were so happily decided in any nation. He does not seem to think so much of the mischief that happened, even in the *Irish* Rebellion, which he says did not make half such destruction, &c. &c. as above. It is likewise invidious to say *England's battles*; they were our own battles; they were battles for our liberties, civil and religious; for every thing that could be dear to our brave forefathers, as men, as protestants, or who wished their posterity to be free and independent. Such confined, political calculations have a bad aspect. The language of true freedom is bold and generous, and will think nothing too great a purchase for the redemption of a brave and loyal people from slavery and arbitrary domination. This same *Revolution*, that he has bogled so much at, and called a *dangerous expedient*, makes me suspect he would not have made a good Captain of Horse in that cause, and that he knew his *own bottom* too well to prefer the *sword* to the *gown*. But will any man, after the instances already given, say that *Swift* was an hearty friend to the Revolution, or the free, noble principles established by it? He cannot say so with propriety. The language used by the defenders of that glorious event is not of the negative kind, nor doth it creep with cold caution and insinuations. No, it blazes forth clear and strong;
bears

bears down all before it: The spirit of liberty gives it irresistible force, and when national freedom and glory are attained, its exultations, being sincere, rise above narrow, local attachments, and embrace with unconfined, brotherly affection, every part of the common-wealth. The regret, however, of the Dean, at having a calvinistical King, is not in so dismal a strain as the *pious grunt* of the *Somersetshire*, high-flying levite, who, soon after the revolution, addressed himself to his flock, viz. "Suppose the time should come when we shall have a *king* that does not *understand* the *Common Prayer*, (sad case indeed!) what think ye will become of the poor church? O lack and a well-a-day! In that case there could be no comfort but in good strong acts of parliament in its favour, or the cry, *that it was in danger*. Nay, some think that in order to be safe, it should be *always in danger*. But the poor parson was surely wrong, for the two best kings we ever had, *William* and *George* the first, did not well understand the *Common Prayer*, which was, no doubt, a lamentable defect. But good King *Charles* the first was not so, he loved it better than liberty herself, or even the happiness of his people. It is now time to go back to Lord *Somers*, who we left defending the revolution, which, we have since seen made very little of by levitical conjuration.

ration. When, through faction, this excellent Lord resigned his employments and retired from court, how did he bear his disappointment? He did not, like *Swift*, in gloomy discontent, shut himself up from the world, nor write to his friends, "that he cared not what became of posterity, (or that for him) a pretender or a legal king might be in possession of the crown." No, he usefully employed his leisure hours to correct the grievances of the law, and to render the station he had adorned more honourable. Hear what the ingenious *Walpole*, in his *royal and noble authors*, says of Lord *Somers*, and of *Swift's* history, viz. "He was one of those *divine men*, who, like a chapel in a palace, remain unprofaned, while all the rest is tyranny, corruption and folly." Speaking of the Dean's history, he adds, "can one wonder that Lord *Bolingbroke* and *Pope* always tryed to prevent *Swift* from exposing himself, by publishing this wretched, ignorant libel; and could it avoid falling, as it has done, into immediate contempt and oblivion?" These sentiments are as just as they are strong against our author. *Impartiality* obliges me to mention the only exceptionable part in Lord *Somers's* character, which escaped the sarcasm of *Swift*, and that is his obtaining some grants of crown lands which he ought not to have done, or countenanced others in receiving

ing the same emoluments. But no mortal is perfect, though every one should strive to be so.

(To be continued.)

L E T T E R XXXII.

To the COMMITTEE for conducting the
FREE-PRESS.

Dead or alive, I'll strike for liberty.

Old Soldier, a Poem.

GENTLEMEN,

Nov. 26, 1772.

MELANCHOLY it is to relate, that this great man *outlived his understanding!* Little did the Dean think, when he was prostituting the noble powers God had bestowed on him, by traducing a character which he must have been conscious did not deserve it, that he *himself* should suffer the same *sad degradation of abilities*. The Duke of Marlborough, likewise, experienced nearly the same loss of powers. How humbling this to the pride of man? How mortifying and melancholy to see human ruins of such greatness and dignity? Life prolonged, when all that could adorn or render

render it significant were gone ! and when the earnest wishes of the dearest friends could be no other than to have them removed for ever from their sight. After such examples, let not the *wise man* glory in his *wisdom*, nor the *mighty man* in his *strength*, &c. &c. How absolute our dependance on *that being*, who hath bestowed on us all the wonders of our frame, and, at the same time, made us such extended marks for misfortune ! Our own imagination, at any time let loose upon us, can make our state completely miserable. Do not such thoughts cool, even the heat of party, and give us a feeling conviction, that every thing but *virtue* is vanity ? Of all our labours *that only shall remain*, and be our *never-fading ornament*, when all other distinctions shall be *eternally lost*. I sought not for these reflections, they forced themselves upon me, and I hope they will not be thought unsuitable to the subject. The next personage we shall mention will help us to shake off such grave meditation ; he was so full a match for *Swift* and the whole party, that we hardly sympathize with him on being attacked : This was Lord *Wharton*, a swaggering, roaring whig, a perfect bully on the side of liberty, and almost a presbyterian : He treated the Dean with great indifference, sometimes with contempt ; sided constantly with the dissenters, in their firm, unremitting opposition to

the tory ministry ; was a master of eloquence, and in the debate on the schism bill had successfully ridiculed *Harley* and *Bolingbroke*, for attempting to pull down seminaries, that had produced such great men, (*meaning them*) who made treaties that *executed* themselves. What his reverence says of this Lord, rather demeans himself ; I will give a sample of it, viz. " His behaviour is in all forms of a young man at five and twenty, whether he walketh or whistleth, or sweareth, or talketh bawdy, or calleth names, &c. He is a presbyterian in politics, (that he no doubt hated) an atheist in religion, but he chuseth at present to whore with a papist." This, with a little alteration, is very like a portrait drawn some time ago of the present Lord *Sandwich*. But we need not think much of this to a whig minister. That great and gallant hero, prince *Eugene*, could not escape the low, unpolite sarcasm of our author : When that prince had heard of the national treachery, and that the faithful allies of *England* were to be deserted, he came over to *London*, to expostulate with the ministry, (a needless errand at that time) and, on account of his dignity, and long-tried courage, was caressed by all parties. *Swift*, however, could not speak decently of him : In one of his letters he says, " I saw Prince *Eugene* at court to-day, very plain ; he is plaguy yellow, and literally ugly besides."

besides." How poor and ungentlemanlike is this? But the Dean had heard that the first question this brave Prince asked, on his landing, was, "if the new Lords were yet created, and what number?" This shews he was well acquainted with the corrupt measures then adopted, the fears he had of their perfidy, and the opinion he must have formed of our court, in procuring a majority by so base an exertion of the prerogative. Bishop Burnet's worth, his usefulness, and the integrity of his conduct, are almost universally known; his great moderation, and being so instrumental in bringing about the revolution, must, I suppose, have occasioned the Dean's gross abuse of that good man: His remarks on his history are mostly false and illiberal; speaking of it, he says, "that two-thirds of it relate only to that beggarly nation, (the Scots) and their insignificant brangles and factions. Nothing recommends his book but the recency of the facts, most of them being still in memory, especially the story of the revolution. (A constant stumbling block to his reverence)" The story of the revolution! that is an ill phrase! it might do for *Robin Hood*, or *Little John*, for *Cadmus* and *Vanessa*, and such-like, but the glorious revolution! Away with such faint, disaffected language! It is amusing to see him mention, "that a person of the Bishop's gravity and excellence was *party mad*, when,

at the same time, he himself was the noted *scavenger* of a tory administration, and the tool of a contemptible junto. *Burnet's* history of the reformation is a valuable addition to the republic of letters, and he had the thanks of parliament for publishing so great and useful a work. But what shall we say to his throwing into ridicule, the ornament of human nature itself, the *Hon. Robert Boyle*, who instituted, at his own expence, lectures in defence of natural and revealed religion, which have been so eminently serviceable to both? He was the divine and philosopher united; he joined religion and philosophy together; and if ever man felt all the great *divinity* of *virtue* it was he: His writings in favour of religion, shew an heart warmed with the noblest virtue, and, as it were, beating only in the cause of truth and virtue: His experiments in chymistry have continued, and still continue greatly useful to mankind. He was the unshaken friend to liberty and free enquiry in religious affairs, and therefore the object of the Dean's dislike. The virtues of ten *Swifts* would not make half the worth of a *Robert Boyle*. Such a veneration had he of his Maker on his mind, that whenever he was about to mention *his awful name*, there was a visible change in his countenance, and a considerable pause in his discourse. After this, *Swift's meditation* on a *broomstick*, will, it is hoped, be considered

sidered as a monument of the most vicious folly. Sir *Richard Steele*, because he had written the *crisis*, in defence of the revolution, and the *Hanover* succession, fell likewise under this *priestly gladiator's displeasure*. He wrote the *public spirit* of the *whigs*, in answer to the *crisis*, in which he so abused the *Scots* nobility, that they went in a body to complain against the virulent author, for the apprehending of whom, 300*l.* were offered by proclamation. His rooted hatred to that nation appears in many places. He says he will never think a *North-Briton* honest, till he sees a lock of hair growing on the palm of his hand. He however kept up a correspondence with the ingenious and amiable Mr. *Addison*, but he was too much in the principles of liberty for *Swift's* esteem, to be either great with or sincere for him. In one of his letters, speaking of *Addison*, he says,—We are to dine together at L. *Bolingbroke's*, and *we shall be mighty civil*, &c. &c. The play of *Cato*, tho' the Tories pretended to admire the sentiments of liberty, so finely expressed in it, could not meet *Swift's* approbation. Nay he seems to have taken a dislike to the very actors that performed it. He went with some others, to see it rehearsed.—Observe his manner of description, in a letter to Mrs. *Dingley*, viz. We stood on the stage, and it was foolish enough to see the actors prompted every moment, and the poet

(*Addison*) directing them, and the *Drab*, that acts *Cato's* daughter, out in the midst of a passionate part, and then calling out, what's next? The *Drab* he mentions, was no less than the elegant and justly celebrated *Mrs. Oldfield*, the *Woffington* of her day. But neither he nor *Pope*, got any thing by their attack on that laughing player, author and philosopher, *Colley Cibber*. He was an excellent *Lord Foppington* on the stage, but a *Sir Charles Easy* off it. *Pope* put him, most undeservedly, into the *Dunciad*, for this he smarted severely.—*Cibber* touched him to the quick, and gave him a greater shock, than if all *Grub-street* had opened on him at once. The portrait he drew of him, and his picturesque appearance, at a certain place, almost killed our little delicate bard. *Cibber* wrote the esteemed comedy of the *Nonjuror*, as a compliment to *King George 1st*, and to expose the views and follies of dissipated clergymen. The Dean could not endure him for this,—but *Colley* was made Poet Laureat by writing that play, and he laughed thro' life. *Sir William Temple* says,—The greatest pleasure of life, is love; the greatest treasure is contentment, and that the greatest possession is health. Now, one *Cibber*, a player, (as *Swift* calls him) enjoyed these blessings in a much higher degree than himself. He only, is the true philosopher, who enjoys most, and acts the best part. The

rancour.

rancour of the Dean's spirit, prevented his being happy. The vindictive high priest appeared on some occasions; speaking of Lord Chief Justice *Parker*, (a zealous whig) he says, —I owe the *dog a spite*, and will pay him in two months. And mentioning the duel that had been fought between Duke *Hamilton* and Lord *Mobun*, he calls the latter, that *dog Mobun*, because he had been on the side of liberty, which his antagonist was not. Such an unrelenting spirit to a fallen enemy, is seldom observable, and is most unbecoming. We before remarked, on *Swift's* calling Lord *Oxford*, one of the wisest and best ministers he ever knew, and how much he had the Queen's confidence. This shews he was kept in the dark about many things, for when the Earl was dismissed, the reasons given by the Queen were, —That he neglected all business; was seldom to be understood; that when he did explain himself, she could not depend on the truth of what he said; that he never came to her at the time appointed; and lastly, he behaved himself towards her, with bad manners, indecency and disrespect. *Pudet hæc opprobria nobis*. This appears by Mr. *Lewis's* letter to *Swift* 1714. Lord *Orrery* says, —The Dean was elated with the appearance of enjoying ministerial confidence. He enjoyed the shadow, the substance was detained from him. He was employed, not trusted.

When he imagined himself a *subtle diver*, he was suffered only to sound the shallows nearest the shore, and was scarce admitted to descend below the froth at the top. Perhaps the deeper bottoms were too muddy for his inspection. It is most certain, that at the very time *Swift* was state scavenger and bully united, *Harley* was trimming under hand, thro' fear, with the *court of Hanover*, and striving to make his peace: So that it is said with great justice, he was the tool of a party. When he came over to *Ireland*, to his deanry, the protestants had such an opinion of his principles, that he was almost avoided by every one, which is a noble proof of the free spirit that then reigned in this country. And tho' so intimate with Lord *Carteret*, and he had often requested it, he could not get being made a Trustee for the Linen Manufacture, nor even a *Justice of Peace*. *Wood's* halfpence at length made him popular.—But he was, in general, morose and discontented, and looked on *Ireland* as a banishment. In a letter to *Gay*, he says,—The best part of my life I spent in *England*. There, I left my desires: I am condemned for ever to another country. Elsewhere, he says,—Being driven to this wretched kingdom, where I happened to be dropt, and was a year old before I left it; and to my sorrow, did not die before I came back to it again. On his birth-day he always read the 3d chapter of

of *Job*—in which are these expressions, viz. Let the day perish wherein I was born, and the night in which it was said, there is a man-child conceived. Let that day be darkness, let not God regard it from above, neither let the light shine upon it, &c. &c. In such a state of mind, it is no wonder he was sometimes a disagreeable domestic companion. At home, he was often awful and arbitrary to those about him. One can hardly help dropping a tear at the fate of the lovely *Stella*, the glory of her sex in *mind* and *person*. Every line he hath written in her praise, is the severest satire against himself, for with all her charms and merit, she was,—but a *smuggled, neglected* wife. A stranger to that delicacy, tenderness and confidence from him, to which her great merit so fully entitled her; a concealed grief, at last, stole the *roses* from her cheeks, and that life, sense and spirit, that had charmed all, were, sometime after, seen no more. She languished, and fell an early sacrifice to *whim, false pride*, and the *most unfeeling inhumanity*. *Biographers* seldom let us into the real characters of men; *Swift's* particularly. Lord *Orrery* is the best of them, but it is plain he does not speak all he *knows*, for old acquaintance sake. Dr. *Hawkesworth* handles him with the tenderness of a friend, and his cousin *Dean Swift's* life of him, is but a tedious panegyric, of great mediocrity. We

know more of his humour and real temper, from Mrs. *Pilkington* than from any other writer. Several other instances might be given, and more characters introduced to strengthen my argument, but the above may suffice, and it is hoped, the many authorities produced, and the reasons given for his abuse of the persons mentioned, will prove satisfactory and entertaining to the reader. The Dean himself was free enough to own, that he had wrote more libels than sermons. *Pope* greatly condemned him for this. He was of quite another spirit; was gentle in his manners, and most benevolent, though waspish, when seized with a fit of envy in authorship. In a letter to Mr. *Allen*, speaking of public affairs, he says,—I never in my life wrote a letter on these subjects. I content myself, as you do, with honest wishes, for honest men to govern us, without asking for any party or denomination beside. This is all the distinction I know. Happy were it for the memory of *Swift*, had such sentiments taken possession of him! What a different spirit breathes in his history already mentioned, and of which I have given you Mr. *Walpole's* opinion. The whole venom of the party, as well as his own, seems to have been spit forth in it. From the moment that historical libel was published, his weight and importance as a political writer, ceased. Disappointment ambition, par-

ty rage, and different contending passions, seem to have torn him, whilst he was composing it. Much ill blood hath it fomented, and revived odious distinctions amongst protestants, which were happily subsiding. The sale of it was luckily damped, and its authority almost annihilated, by passing thro' the *fiery ordeal* of the review, where it was so singed, that it seemed branded like a malefactor for having done evil, or to prevent further mischief. But *Swift's* fame will not rest on his political writings: The spirit of liberty now subsisting and gathering strength, will prevent this.—It is, however, observable, that this book, written in defence of peace, caused a declaration of war betwixt the two greatest powers in literary commerce, viz. the present Alderman *Faulkner*, and the late Mr. *Ewing*, senior. The former asserted the title of *an indefeasible, hereditary right*, to publish the Dean's works. The latter, as a dissenter, exercised the liberty of the press, and pushed on the war with great vigour, notwithstanding the disadvantage of having the *Journal* battery played against his small arms, or, casual expensive firings from hired forces. He stood his ground manfully (as the *Scots* generally do) and not content with an invasion of the out-works, he hurled defiance at the enemy, by claiming a right to reprint the whole, which he did, to the great terror of his antagonist. It ended,

ended, I think, in a kind of drawn battle, nor do I know whether ever a peace was formally signed. One thing however, is certain, that it was very wrong, in men of such property, for the sake of the poor crumbs that fell from the publication, to let loose such a crude piece of overcharged toryism on the public. His reverence's printer was surely to blame, in thus injuring the memory of his best benefactor. Had the film of self-interest been removed from his eyes, or as some say, had he seen the subject through a *pair of clear, low-church, whig spectacles*, his *worship* would not have published the book, especially as he knew it was so disagreeable to many of the Dean's best friends, and to several of the nobility. Nay, Mr. *Faulkner* was attending the Dean on some business, in 1737, at the very time he received a letter from the Earl of *Oxford*, (son to the Treasurer) requesting that the history might not be published. He both saw the letter, and the answer. Part of the Earl's letter runs thus, viz.—When I read over the history, there seemed to me a want of some papers, to make it complete; besides, there were some *severe things* said, which might have been then currently *talked of*, but now want a proper *evidence* to support. For these reasons do I entreat the favour of you, and make it my *earnest request*, that you will give your positive directions, that this history be not
print.

printed and published, &c. &c. Pity indeed, it had been either ! But if in the squabble, for that *rotten bone of contention*, between the two booksellers, a third person had stepped in, viz. *Jack Ketch*, and carried it off to be burned, by his executing *hands*, he would have merited the thanks of the public, as it was defending the *signing* of a *peace*, which was treason against the commonwealth, and the majesty of the people. We have yet some strong evidences to produce on our side, from a 30th of *January* sermon, highly seasoned, which, with the witnesses already examined, will, we think, bring in his reverence guilty of *Whig slaughter*, at large, and utterly disqualify him, in future, from giving testimony in any cause wherein liberty is concerned. (But this must depend on the verdict of the public.) These evidences, with several other characters and particulars, yet to be considered, shall conclude the promised *Strictures* of

HUMPHREY SEARCH.

(To be continued.)

LETTER

L E T T E R XXXIII.

To the COMMITTEE for conducting the
FREE-PRESS.

Dead, or alive, I'll strike for Liberty.

Old Soldier, a poem.

(Continued from our last.)

GENTLEMEN,

THE frequent quotations from *Swift's* writings, by Tory advocates, and half liberty men, shew, not only their dangerous tendency, but the weight they are supposed to have with the publick. To remove this, and render his evidence, hereafter, inadmissible, hath been attempted in these letters. Out of his own mouth have I judged him. His great fame, as an author, and the good humour he often puts his reader into, tend to introduce his arbitrary political principles the more easily into people's minds; but there is no writer should be more carefully guarded against. We may be merry, and laugh with him most heartily, or even crack jokes with him at our neighbour's expence, as it can now, do no great harm; but let us never venture to chat politics with him, for erroneous
opinions

opinions are thickly sprinkled over his political works. In religion he is narrow and superficial, and such as are in earnest in that great work, will, perhaps, receive but little pleasure or profit from his meditations. He owns, himself, that he has wrote more libels than sermons. Indeed, he was much more in his element, when employed on such subjects. He ought never to be spoken of, as an universal genius. He had little knowledge in, or taste for some of the chief branches of science. He hated mathematical studies; had but a small relish for *natural* or *moral* philosophy, and was too impatient and partial, for historical investigation. We shall look in vain throughout his writings, for what may be called, *the fine enthusiastic flow*, and elegant *moral painting*. For these we must have recourse to a *Shaftsbury*, an *Addison*, a *Pope*, a *Thomson*, a *Young*, an *Akenside*, a *Gray*, and *some others*. Neither shall we find, when he is speaking of *truth* and *liberty*, our *country*, the *glorious Revolution*, and its *numerous blessings*, that *noble ardour*, that *elevation* and *warmth* of *expression* and *sentiment*, that should have animated a masterly genius. These, he was certainly capable of, but the fanaticism of party stifled every attempt of this sort. But leaving the regions of fancy, and topics of elegance, we must now descend to subjects less pleasing, and consider the spirit of our author in his 30th of *January* sermon.

mon, preached towards the end of *George I.* reign, when one would have thought the heat of party had subsided. But the *Ethiopian cannot change his skin, &c.* When the parliament saw King *Charles I.* adopt illegal measures, and commit repeated acts of oppression, they wisely remonstrated, and would not endanger the constitution, by granting him farther supplies. *Swift* speaks thus of the affair. The Commons grew so insolent and uneasy to the King, that they refused to furnish him (such impudence to refuse his Majesty!) with necessary supplies, &c. &c. In such an extremity (says he) he was forced upon a practice, no way justifiable, (a great concession!) of raising money: for which however, he had the opinion of the Judges on his side. O upright Judges!—*Daniels!*—all *Daniels!* that if desired, would have called *black, white.* They were a set of *downright, upright men!* like their *ermined* brethren in *James II.* time, who gave it as their opinion,—that his Majesty could *dispense*, with the *penal laws, in cases of necessity*; and that he *himself*, was the only Judge of that *necessity.* (Very good! nothing like example.) Well, his Reverence was saying, he had the opinion of the Judges on his side. Observe, how softly he treads, when speaking of *one* of the most dangerous acts of despotism, that any *Monarch* could have been guilty of, viz.—levying money on his

his subjects, without *authority* of *Parliament*. This he calls,—being forced upon a practice, &c. &c. Did a King of *England*, in our days, attempt such a robbery, he would in all probability, (were there no other cause) lose both his crown and head. The *determined, gallant, unsubmitting Hambden*, lost his life, rather than pay forty shillings, *ship money*, in consequence of an arbitrary imposition. This venerable Patriot and Senator, a *Pym*, a *Sidney*, a *Russell*, or *such men*, are never once mentioned by *Swift*, with approbation. And the levying of money contrary to law, he calmly says, was no way justifiable. How poor, how slavish, how contemptible the expression! He goes on, viz.—There were likewise many complaints, and sometimes justly (well owned again, only sometimes however) made against the proceedings of a certain court, (there were two of them, he forgot the high Commission Court) called the *Star Chamber*, a judicature of great antiquity, (that was a great comfort to a man imprisoned and robbed by it, without a trial) but had suffered some corruptions, for which however the King was no way answerable. Indeed!—when by his orders, knowledge and permission, the lives, properties and liberties of several of his subjects were taken away by that infernal court, the image of that *human Slaughter House*, (*the Inquisition*.) Was not the *Habeas Corpus Act* suspended,

suspended, and men's persons imprisoned during pleasure, at the arbitrary nod of the Monarch? Such unlimited acts of power, bore a near resemblance to the *Turkish* government; under which, the *bow-string* doctrines, of passive obedience and non-resistance, reign with uncontrollable sway. Had the Dean lived in the time of *Charles I.* one touch of that *ancient* judicatory, (as he calls it) at his *person* or *property*, would probably have made a thorough Whig of him all his days, and have given him a feeling conviction of the evil administration of the *Royal Martyr*. Neither Royalist, nor Tory writers, as far as I know, defend these dreadful courts, which at present are looked upon with horror, by every friend to civil liberty. But his Reverence, with a pair of *Tory Skates*, strongly fastened, *slides over them* with *great ease*, and mentions them not, with any seeming resentment. He adds—I cannot remember any more subjects of complaint, with the least ground of reason, &c. &c. His memory failed him greatly on this subject; though it was most retentive of any, the least transgression on the side of liberty. He wilfully, I doubt, forgot to mention, his governing arbitrarily, for more than twelve years, without a parliament. His *pretended* anxiety to relieve the *French* Protestants, shut up in *Rochelle*. His base, hypocritical delays in that urgent business, and permitting *Pennington's* fleet, (under hand)

hand) to assist the *French*, against those very people. His imposing new oaths on his subjects, to discover the value of their estates. His granting monopolies without number, to the destruction of commerce. His granting a warrant to seal up the trunks, studies and chambers of Lord *Kimbolton*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hambden*, Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig* and Mr. *Stroud*, Members of Parliament. His going in person to the House of Commons to have these virtuous *Senators* seized, and taking the Speaker's Chair, as a seat of observation. Several other particulars might be mentioned, but one would think, so many remarkable events, could not have escaped our Author's excellent memory. The admirers of his sermon may add the above occurrences, by way of *appendix*. But the most amazing, as well as most absurd of all assertions, is yet to follow, viz.—That the *Irish* Rebellion, was wholly owing to that wicked *English* Parliament,] (the most venerable body of Senators that had ever met in *England*) and we may truly say that the *English* Parliament held the King's hands while the *Irish* Papists here were cutting our Grandfather's throats. He then goes on, with that murderous puritan Parliament, (they were almost intirely Episcopalian, which even Lord *Clarendon* admits)—And there are some divinity rants, equal to any in *Tragedy*—He out *Sacbeverels* the Inflammatory himself. And the high

high church cant terms are thickly interlarded, viz.—the *libels* of the *puritan* faction—against *Bishops* and *Clergy*—The *Parliament*—a *packt rabble*—that *odious Parliament*—The *blessed Martyr*—which is an abuse of the term; a martyr, properly speaking, being one who dies for the sake of truth and virtue; and the King was put to death, for repeated acts of tyranny, and for many years trampling on the rights and liberties of his subjects. It is indeed astonishing, that one of *Swift's* penetration could say, that the *Irish* Rebellion was wholly owing to that wicked *English* Parliament, &c. &c. It had no more to say to it, as to its being the cause, than the famous *prorogation* of our parliament, by Lord *Townshend* had. The civil war in *England*, no doubt, prevented a speedy end being put to the *Irish* Rebellion—but the *Irish* Massacre had begun before the civil war broke out; for on the 23d of *October*, 1641, the King was in *Scotland*—though the Dean so roundly asserts that the *Irish* Rebellion was wholly owing to the *English* Parliament. The causes of that Rebellion were very various, and it was concerted long before there was any civil war in *England*. I refer my readers to the letters on the 23d of *October*, where they will see the different causes of the Rebellion assigned, and the best authorities on that subject produced. He seems to think the *Puritans* as politically dangerous as the *Catholics*:

We

We accuse, says he, the Papists of the horrid doctrine, that no faith ought to be kept with Heretics. This they deny; but the followers of those who beheaded the Martyr, have not yet renounced their principles, and till they do, they may be justly suspected. I fear they will never read such a recantation of their political principles as he expected. Speaking of the *Revolution*, he says, "It was happy that his interests and ours were the same, (meaning King *William*) and God gave him greater success than our sins deserved; but as a house thrown down by a storm is seldom rebuilt without some change in the foundation, (now for a squint at the Revolution) so it hath happened, that since the late Revolution, men have sat much looser in the true fundamentals both of religion and government, and factions have been more violent (Tory factions have) treacherous and malicious than ever, &c. &c. &c." How invidious this? Since the Revolution (which is the æra of our liberties) both religion and government have been better explained and understood than ever they were before; men's principles rest upon a rational foundation, and, consequently, are firm and well fixed. Had the times been fit for it, King *William* would have attempted a thorough Reformation in the Universities and in religion; he consulted with Mr. *Locke* on that head, who freely told him, that
the

the majority of the Clergy, being bred at *Oxford*, would at once raise the cry of the Church's danger, (he being a *calvinistical King*) and that his government would be made unhappy by it. Mr. *Locke* was right, for several years afterwards, in the succeeding reign, the same cry was raised on a very trifling account; viz. the trial of *Sacheverel*, and it was even debated in the House of Lords, whether the Church was in danger: The Bishops were chiefly of opinion that it was: The Bishop of *London's* reason for it was, that books and sermons were published, wherein resistance to the higher powers was authorised, &c. (a hard case indeed.) The Archbishop of *York* complained of the increase of dissenting Academies: Lord *Wharton* bullied, because of the number of Seminaries held by non-juring clergymen: The Bishop of *Litchfield* was very angry at Bishops being abused in common conversation. The farcical debate was closed by a sensible speech from Lord *Somers*, and there being a majority of Whig Lords, it was carried, that the Church was not in danger. The absurdity of *Swift's* observation will farther appear, when we consider the corruption and debauchery that universally prevailed in the loose reign of *Charles II.* and the sobriety and decency of behaviour that were so observable at, and after the Revolution. At that time the Tories were for ever haranguing on the national debt, though
but

but just *commencing*; and on the danger of standing armies (though then unavoidable) but this was done more to vex the King and the Whigs, than from any real patriotism: And they industriously fomented discontents against the *Revolution*, as hurtful to their civil interests; though, by the best calculations, the whole stock of *England*, including the coin, personal estates, and the whole value of land, hath increased an hundred millions sterling during sixty years after the Revolution more than it had done for sixty years before it: In the year 1628 it was three hundred and thirty-three millions: In 1688 it was six hundred and sixteen millions: In 1748 it amounted to one thousand millions. But we must proceed to remark, on another paragraph in the famous sermon we have been considering: I am sure all bad Kings ought to revere his memory; by what he has said, they ought never to be called to an account for their conduct. Speaking of a King he says, "His personal failings we have nothing to do with, (if natural we have not) and errors in government are to be imputed to his ministers in the state." (*Snug is the word, the Royal Martyr for that*) levying ship-money, &c. and the prosecutions in the Star Chamber, were, with him, but errors in government: and should a King, with both hands, help his ministers to tear down the barriers of the constitution, he having a divine
right

right to play the *mischief*, must only be hinted at, and his ministers, who obeyed his orders, punished. Well-argued. But how shall we screen his Majesty? For the free *English spirit* spurns at this sneaking, timorous doctrine. What is a King, by nature, more than any other man? The anatomist can find nothing more; the philosopher and moralist, often a great deal less. A King who for twelve years had been destroying the liberties, properties, and many lives of his subjects, by long, illegal imprisonments, had by all laws, human and divine, forfeited his crown and life to the Commonwealth, especially as he at last took arms against his subjects, in defending their just rights, and had deluged his kingdom with blood. Every impartial man who considers the subject, and the duties then due to posterity, must own, that it was a *noble, a grand spectacle*, to see a determined, free people resuming the power they had entrusted with their *first servant*, (who had so repeatedly and inhumanly abused it) bringing him to justice, and *openly* in the *face of day*, and of the *public*, *sacrifice* him to the *laws* he had attempted to *destroy*. Their honour was hereby vindicated; the strength and majesty of the people shone forth with unrivalled splendor; the laws received the proper sanction due to them, as *being above all*, and the fixed, unalterable *guardians* of the *constitution*. Happy! had their sacred dignity

dignity and influence been afterwards preserved? but that was not the case. Nothing, indeed, but the utmost extremity should lead to such violence; but when once the sword against a Prince is drawn, he is but a weak politician that will not throw away the scabbard; for there is no such thing as *safely* entrusting a monarch again, with power over subjects who have conquered and humbled him: To say otherwise is but like the chattering of an *old woman* in a *chimney corner*. The pity expressed for Kings, in such cases, is a false tenderness, for the welfare of a whole people is never to be put in competition with the happiness of any individual, no matter how elevated his station. The *independent Whig himself*, whined a little on this subject. A *Machiavel*, a *Sidney*, and a *Montesquieu* did not. There are several other exceptionable passages in the sermon, but it is hoped enough have been produced to shew the spirit of the preacher: The whole smells strongly of *Oxford*. I shall therefore hasten from so unpleasing a subject. What mischief must such sentiments have done, what prejudices raised and rivetted, what uncharitableness fomented, when coming from a person of *Swift's* reputed knowledge and patriotism in the year 1725. By discourses of this kind a party spirit is kept up amongst Protestants by the Ministers of the Gospel of Peace. It would perhaps require the labour of a sensible,

moderate clergyman, for years to remove the false high-flying notions imbibed by hearing one of these highly-seasoned discourses which have been too frequently, to my own knowledge, preached in this city. I shall not mention names though it were easy to do it. It is hoped the foregoing remarks, will, in some measure, prevent the evil effects of the Dean's *Tory Libel*, for, in truth, it merits no other name. There is not, perhaps, as much political bigotry to be seen in any sermon on the subject, even in the earlier times, when parties ran high, and when liberty was discouraged. I shall for a thorough answer to this and all other sermons that ever have been, or shall be preached on the 30th of *January*, give quotations from even Royalist and Tory writers, that I hope will prove sufficient: Though such evidences are not admissible against, yet they are strong, when, for us, as the testimony of an enemy, speaking by the force of truth in our favour, comes with double weight.

(*To be continued.*)

LETTER

L E T T E R XXXIV.

To the COMMITTEE for conducting the
FREE-PRESS.

But one stroke more, and this shall be my last.

POPE

(Concluded from our last.)

GENTLEMEN,

Dec. 5, 1772.

LORD Clarendon, in his history of the rebellion, (as he falsely calls it) says—In the 2d parliament, there was a mention and intention of granting five subsidies, but it was dissolved upon very unpopular reasons, and the five subsidies were exacted throughout the kingdom, with the same rigour, as if an act had passed to that purpose. Supplemental acts of state were made to supply defects of laws, so tonnage, poundage and other duties were collected, and new impositions laid upon trade. The King raised a vast sum of money on the law of knighthood; and no less unjust projects of all kinds, many scandalous, all very grievous, were set on foot: By which, for some years, came to the King's coffers, 200,000l. per annum. A good round sum this, which Clarendon

don owns, the subjects were yearly robbed of, contrary to law. He adds—for the better support of this, and to protect the agents (they must have been bold men as well as great rogues) the council table and star chamber, enlarged their jurisdiction to a vast extent, &c. &c. There were also, proclamations *enjoining* the people, what was not *enjoined* by law. The offenders thereof were imprisoned, and fined with very great fines, &c. &c. Thus far, *Clarendon*. But we shall hear another doctrine from Dr. *Manwaring*, in a sermon preached before the King and court, at *Whitehall*. It being a curiosity, and out of print, I shall just put down a few sentences, viz. The King is not bound to observe the laws of the realm, concerning the subjects of rights and liberties; but that his royal will, in imposing taxes without consent of parliament, doth oblige the subject's conscience, upon pain of eternal damnation. His brother in iniquity, Dr. *Sibthorpe*, gave it as his opinion, in another sermon at court—That the King might make laws, and do whatsoever pleaseth him. Excellent! No wonder poor *Charles* went all wrong, when he took, and followed the opinions of these upright spiritual judges, consecrated by *Laud*, the *arch-mover* in all mischief. I shall further answer *Swift's* sermon from *Bolingbroke himself*, one of *Queen Anne's* Tory ministry, and it will likewise shew

shew the opinion he must, in his heart, have entertained of the Dean's narrow principles. Tho' King *Charles* pretended to assist the poor *Rochellers*, he says, ships were lent to the King of *France* against his *protestant* subjects; and the persecution of them was made the pretence of a rupture with him. Real, not imaginary grievances arose, and were continued in every part of the administration. *Charles* came a party man to the throne, and continued an invasion on the people's rights. He sucked in with his milk, those absurd principles of government, which his father was so industrious in propagating. He dissolved his parliament, and broke almost, all the ties of union, which remained between himself and the nation, that he might screen some of the most unworthy men, &c. &c. He adds—The King had, in a manner renounced the constitution, and instead of governing with the assistance and concurrence of a parliament, he governed by illegal acts of power, which the council, the star-chamber and the high commission exercised. Not only the government was carried on without law, but the *Judges* were become the instruments of arbitrary power. The reader will see how like a reasonable man *Bolingbroke* speaks, compared to *Swift*, who out-soars all that ever wrote on that subject, Messrs. *Manwaring* and *Sibthorpe*, and some rants and flights of Dr. *South* ex-

cepted. Did I let loose the Whig writers into the enemy's camp, on this occasion, they would make dreadful havock; but a victory in the method I have pursued will be more honourable, and less liable to be disputed. It is upon the whole evident, that the arbitrary principles, that had been early instilled into the King, his listening to evil counsellors, and the many illegal acts of power exercised for above 12 years, when parliaments were laid aside, occasioned all the evils that succeeded. And to attribute them to party or faction, is contrary to truth, and the most authentic testimonies. The evidence I am going to produce, will put the matter beyond all debate. I mentioned it once before, but from some assertions of surface writers, which have since appeared, it makes me think it has not been attended to, as the importance of it deserves. When the King's necessities obliged him to call a parliament in 1640—the wisest and best men that ever composed an *English* senate were chosen, to enquire into the source of public grievances, and to have them redressed. They were chiefly *Episcopalians*, which Lord *Clarendon* admits. They had not sat eight months, when after the most active, impartial enquiry, they expressed themselves in the preamble to a bill for abolishing episcopacy, (tho' themselves were mostly *Episcopalians*) as follows, viz. Whereas the government of the Church

Church of *England*, by Archbishops, Bishops; their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officers, hath been found by long experience to be a great impediment to the perfect reformation and growth of religion, and very prejudicial to the state and government of this kingdom, be it enacted, &c. &c. This glorious assembly, anxious above all things for the safety of their country, and nobly rising above early prejudices, for their own denomination; resolved farther,—That the constitution of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, had been one of the most powerful engines, in the hands of an arbitrary King, by which he had well nigh effected the total subversion of the laws and liberties of his country. This *authority* is so weighty, and the circumstances attending it, so strong, that it must be amazing, to hear clergymen from the pulpit, assert, that the sectaries were the sole authors of all the mischief that happened. Such a testimony, from such a *body of men*, who had the best opportunity of knowing, is too *sturdy* to be got the better of. It is a pillar of truth, not to be shaken or removed, by any sophistry of argument. The *high flyers* may flourish and flounce, or throw froth about, like a fish in deep water with a hook in his mouth, but they must at last be brought to the shore of *conviction*. One would think *Swift* must have seen

this strong evidence against the priesthood, tho' it is not generally known, but we have seen so many instances of his partiality, his narrow principles and party spirit, that I would hardly admit his evidence where a low churchman, a whig, or a dissenter's nails were to be paired, for he would have them done to the quick. The same patriotic commons voted,—that ship money was against law. That the judgment in Mr. *Hamden's* case was against law, and the extrajudicial opinion of the Judges. The Bishops must have been most active in these matters, when after the most careful enquiry, the *ecclesiastical* hierarchy was adjudged to have been the chief cause of every illegal proceeding. To their influence likewise, it was owing, that the *exclusion bill* was thrown out in the House of Lords, in *Charles II.* reign, after it had passed the Commons, by which James II. was brought to the throne, and the glorious Lord *Russel* to the block. I could give other proofs from *Rushworth*, *Whitelock*, &c. &c. But we trust the above are more than sufficient to shew the absurdity and falshood of an hundred such sermons, and that, hereafter, little regard will be paid to polemical party writings, founded on principles so dangerous and destructive. *Swift's* strength was tried, in defending some of these principles in 1733, when the test act was agitated here: Every argument or
abuse

abuse that he could rake together or throw out, were exhibited on that occasion. When he had swaggered awhile, with a parcel of Tory cant terms, he was, to his surprize and very great mortification, attacked by writers on the side of liberty, much too powerful for him on the subject: The papers came out in numbers, and were called, "Reasons for the repeal of the sacramental test." They were written by two men whose abilities and virtue did honour to human nature; and form a defence of civil liberty, unequalled and unanswerable. Our *tory gladiator* was handled in a quite new way to him: Every single sentence in which there was a shew of argument, was sifted thoroughly, and a train of reasoning entered into which he never once attempted to invalidate. He threw out, indeed, some high-flying assertions, (like some of our late writers) but he was repeatedly called on for an *answer*, challenged to precision in the debate; instead of which, when his defeat was manifest, his *humour* carried him off, and he made his escape in a song on the words, "*Brother Protestants, &c.*" which is excellent as a piece of wit, but nothing to the purpose. In this song he abuses Serjeant *Bettesworth*, a violent whig, who had made a most severe epitaph on the *Dean*, which vexed him not a little. Our readers, perhaps, will not be displeased at seeing it, viz.

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" Here

" Here lies one *Swift*, one *Harley's* master
 " tool ;
 " Spendthrift of wit, who died at length a
 " fool :
 " *Who for his jest*, ne'er spar'd or friends or
 " foes :
 " He's gone—but where? The *Lord of Ox-*
 " *ford knows.*"

The second line was, alas! too fully verified, for which he will ever have the sympathy of mankind. In speaking of the test act, the Dean says, " for if once their light would so shine, (the Presbyterians had the act——passed) the Papists, delighted with the blaze, would all come in and dance about it." I heartily wish an act so disgraceful to religion, and contrary to civil liberty, had been repealed; even though the Catholics had taken a hop on the occasion: The more the merrier, as the saying is. But Sir Robert Walpole, from political reasons, prevented the repeal of it, though some late scribbler says, the Dissenters and he were closely united in the bonds of corruption. It had been expected from Swift, who was such a stickler for the Church and Priesthood, that he would have attacked the independent Whig, who had weakened the power and influence of the clergy. The Whig, beside, had squinted at him, was ready for the combat, and good sport was expected:

expected; but his heart failed him against so alert an enemy, who, in all probability, would have dressed his reverence with a *curry comb* for the *Dean*, sharper than the one mentioned in his works. As a corroboration of what I have said concerning *Swift*, I shall give you the following sketches of him from Lord *Orrery*, viz. “His pride, his spirit, or his ambition, “was boundless; he was sour and severe, but “not absolutely ill-natured; he knew politeness more than he practised it; he was a “mixture of avarice and generosity; he was “open to adulation, and could not, or would “not distinguish between low flattery and just “applause; and it is certain, that from his settlement in *Dublin*, his choice of companions “in general, shewed him of a very depraved “taste. What shall be said for his love of “trifles, and his want of delicacy and decorum? But he was undisguised and sincere, “and his abilities rendered him superiour to “envy.” Thus speaks Lord *Orrery*. If we try the *Dean*’s patriotism by his friend, Lord *Bolingbroke*’s definition of it, I fear it will be found to have come far short; he says, “*Patriotism* “must be founded in great principles, supported by great virtues, without the rage of party prejudice: The public happiness must “be its great object, to which all selfish views “must give place.” Upon the whole we may conclude,

conclude, that while the true spirit of freedom is maintained, and that arts, sciences and philosophy continue to advance under its protection, the political conduct and writings of *Swift* will, more and more, fall into contempt and disesteem: Nor is it improbable, that a wise and true posterity will think and speak of his acting under, and so violently defending *Queen Anne's* tory ministry, in the same manner as we now do of the slavish tenets of *Salmasius*, and *Filmer*, the narrow, persecuting sentiments of *Hickes* and *Leslie*, the high-flying, sophistical rants of *South* and *Sacheverel*, the absurd, irrational effusions, and petulant assertions of *Dr. Danough*, or the prostituted, phrenetic ravings of the triumvirate. If these letters shall any way contribute to preserve men from the deadly taint of arbitrary principles, or strengthen the cause of *truth* and *liberty*, by cultivating a generous independence and freedom of thought, in civil and religious matters, it will give the most sincere pleasure to

HUMPHREY SEARCH.

LETTER

L E T T E R XXXV.

To the P E O P L E.

Hanc olim veteres vitam coluere *Sabini*,
 Hanc *Remus* et frater : Sic fortis *Etruria* crevit,
 Scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima *Roma*.

Such was the life the frugal SABINES led,
So REMUS and his brother god were bred ;
From whom th' austere ETRURIAN VIRTUE
rose

And this rude life our homely fathers chose.
Old ROME from such a race deriv'd her birth,
The seat of empire and the conquer'd earth.

VIRGIL'S G. ad.

Sept. 8, 1772.

TO enumerate the blessings
 YE ought to enjoy, in consequence of the ever-
 glorious *Revolution*, would exceed the bounds
 of a news-paper : every lover of those princi-
 ples, which produced that Revolution in 1688,
 must wish to have the rising generation remind-
 ed of them, and it is their duty to hand them
 down to their posterity. Our present chief ma-
 gistrate, **GEORGE III.** cannot but be sensible,
 that his family was *elected* to the supreme ma-
 gistracy

gistracy of these realms to support that form of governing and being governed, as established at that memorable æra, when our brave (though *homely*) forefathers imagined they had fixed the constitution on an *immutable* basis, set just bounds to prerogative, and left lasting examples for posterity to follow, by laying down their lives in so glorious a cause. Oh! shall after ages record, that the principles of the Revolution in 1688, were contemned and rendered useless by YOUR degeneracy in 1772? *Forbid it heav'n!* The blessings of former days, *originated* from periodical writings; the liberty of writing freely, fully and impartially, the inherent privilege of *free* debating in parliament, was always arraigned by the factious,* and is still so by such as dread a public recital of their own enormous and flagrant violations of our civil and religious liberties, and of all the laws both human and divine. It is notorious, that no man, or set of men ever raised a clamour against *free* debating, or *free* writing, but those who are avowed enemies to the principles of the Revolution, or whose own conduct deserved public censure or exemplary punishment. Such men would reign uncontrouled in tyranny, oppression, and every species of iniquity, if the

* The enemies of liberty, for they are the only body of men to whom that title can with truth and propriety be applied.

press was not free for honest and independent
 authors to lay open their treachery, and criti-
 cize their conduct. It was the freedom of writ-
 ing that supported the GREAT ELIZABETH,
 that bright example of consummate prudence
 and heroic virtue ; and it exposed the *errors* of
 former reigns. YOUR ancestors weighed the
 arguments of contending writers ; then, having
 formed their judgment by mature delibera-
 tion, they joined the side of truth and li-
 berty. It was the freedom of the press, aided
 by the timely hand of death, which saved *pe-*
dantic JAMES I. from anticipating his *son's*
 fate. JAMES mounted YOUR throne with a
 fixed resolution to extend prerogative, and di-
 minish the liberty of the subject. His timidity
 was alarmed by reading the public papers, and
 he slackened his career, scarcely time enough
 to save his crown. He was so strongly tinctu-
 red with high notions of arbitrary power, that
 he endeavoured to render himself absolute, and
 his ministers tyrants. His daily thoughts were
 employed in planning schemes, fraught with
treason against the *majesty* of the *people*, and to
 stretch prerogative above the laws of the land ;
 he suffered himself to be governed by rapacious
 favourites (that rock on which some *sovereigns*
 have, and others may split) contrary to the de-
 clared sense of the aggregate body of the *people* :
 he was intirely governed by Lord SOMERSET
 in

in the early part of his reign, and that *traitor* BUCKINGHAM kept him in leading-strings until his death. It was the well-adapted freedom of writing, and manly parliamentary reasoning, that restored, and for a time supported liberty, by making a *just* example of its mortal foe CHARLES I. The irreligious and dissolute life of CHARLES II. prevented him from having time to execute the plans of his predecessors. His example of luxury and dissipation composed the *system* of his court; and unhappily the vices of the court tainted the minds of the common people. Every virtue was absorbed in pleasures of a dangerous tendency: The minds of the great were enervated, our arms grew rusty, and our fleets were suffered to rot, or were burned by the enemy in our ports; vice and immorality were encouraged; religion and virtue were despised: Whilst luxury and corruption triumphed at home, these nations (as they ever will be in such circumstances) were held in the greatest contempt by foreign states, and obliged to submit to every insult without making reprisals, or shewing resentment, under the disgraceful pretence of preserving the peace. That wretched *bigot*, JAMES II. gave up *three* bright diadems for a MASS: He was long cautioned by periodical papers, and by the parliamentary debates, of the consequences that must naturally attend
his

his *obstinacy* of conduct, and his perseverance in trampling on the LIBERTIES of the PEOPLE, who were wearied by reiterated oppressions; but happily for posterity, some kind genius (who *unintentionally* proved a friend to YOUR liberties) spurred him on in a most rapid course of acts, subversive of the constitution, by which he broke his coronation *oath*, and absolved *you* from your allegiance; in consequence of which a proper and *legal* resentment arose amongst the PEOPLE, and they drove that infatuated tool of *Rome* from THEIR throne. In the succeeding scenes of anarchy and confusion, the public papers held forth the Prince of ORANGE, as the only resource to save a sinking state. The PEOPLE read THOSE papers, and their judgments induced them to *realize* the *ideas* of the writers. By only banishing King JAMES they *erred* on the side of *mercy*; the just spirit of the laws and *constitution* would have condemned that grand CRIMINAL to death. Mistaken mercy, misapplied humanity, as in captain *Jones's* case, only encourage a repetition of criminality. The publications in 1688, and the four following years, preserved *your* liberties under the auspices of that glorious chief magistrate WILLIAM III. They exposed the designs of his and YOUR enemies; he and the people profited thereby. The papers cautioned him of the many conspiracies against his

his crown and life; they opened the eyes of the friends of liberty. When death approached that magnanimous Prince, he hastened the weighty bills then depending in parliament, particularly *that* (on which his heroic mind was set) for settling the *succession* of the crown, with the *consent* of the PEOPLE, in the *present* Royal Family; and when he saw those acts compleated, with his usual calmness of mind and christian fortitude, he patiently submitted to the order of nature, and the irreversible decrees of Providence. To him succeeded ANNE, the glories of the early part of whose reign rise thick as the beauties of a constellation. The plains of *Blenheim* and the fields of *Ramilies*, bear lasting testimony of that æra. Had she continued steady in the cause of religion, virtue and truth, she would have been recorded in the faithful page of history, as another ELIZABETH. But her unlucky stars induced her to tarnish all her former glory, by four years of folly and misconduct. Towards the end of her reign, she began to overthrow the glorious fabrick she had raised. The friends of liberty were alarmed, they met in council together, to save themselves and posterity. The public writings and spirited speeches in both houses of parliament, prevented the introduction of the WARMING-PAN *hero*. By attending to the freedom of debate, the timid were convinced, and the wavering fixed,

fixed, and the intended address was overthrown. Providence, in commiseration to these nations, stretched forth his benevolent hand, and took her from us, in a critical hour. The first of the HANOVERIAN family, GEORGE I. succeeded her, though born and educated in a country, whose laws and customs were totally different from the *form* adopted by those who had *chosen* him; yet being blessed with a steadiness (not a *modern* obstinacy) of temper, and affable and condescending in his behaviour, he gained the hearts of those who invited him to defend them. He maturely considered the genius of the *British* nation: He consulted the most sensible; he appointed the most experienced and honest men to places of trust; he filled the judges bench with upright and skilful lawyers; the greatest as well as the lowest dignities in the church, were given to moral men. By such wise arrangements, he was enabled to stem the torrent of rebellion. By his conduct he justly merited the name of STEADY. Our late chief magistrate, GEORGE II. ruled with moderation, justice and sense; he supported the essence of the laws with an impartial hand. Attentive to the minutest circumstance of public affairs, he daily arose at an early hour, and read the productions of various writers, both for and against the measures of his government; by which rule he was enabled to chuse faithful ministers,

ministers, brave commanders, and wise counsellors. He appointed ministers able to direct, commanders ready to obey, and his grateful subjects were ever ready to sell their lives in defence of him, in whom they confided. The execution of Lord FERRERS and Admiral BYNG, were *substantial* acts of justice, and proved his regard for the laws, and the sense he had for the honour of the *British* nation. His perseverance in justice, and constantly rewarding merit, (whether as Lord *Chatham* elegantly expressed it) "*it was rocked on this or the other side of the TWEED,*" inspired the brave with double ardour: Merit and courage exerted themselves in their proper departments, when sure of being supported and rewarded equal to their services. Under his auspices the power of *France* was nearly annihilated; *Spain* was humbled, and the ungenerous *Portuguese* received such relief, as saved the tottering crown of their wretched King; *Poland* then lived happy under its CHOSEN King; *America* was not inflamed by a BERNARD, nor *Ireland* oppressed by a TOWNSHEND. These and their attendant consequences were reserved to compose the annals of the chief magistracy of GEORGE III.

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* There

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There is an anecdote related of a certain very high dignitary in our church, who is now living; upon the decease of his wife, he raised a most superb monument to her memory, whereon her many virtues and character were fully displayed. The haughty prelate, imagining that posterity would be as much addicted to flattery, (as his *Grace's* brethren in the Upper House of Parliament,) left a large *blank* for a *Courtney* or a *Dennis*, to draw his character. A witty gentleman, viewing the monument, and reflecting on the vanity of the owner, wrote the following lines on the *blank*.

*Vainest of mortals, hadst thou wit or grace,
 THOU ne'er had'st left this ostentatious space.
 —To tell posterity on thy tomb—
 This well-known truth by every tongue confes'd,
 That by a BLANK thy life is best express'd.*

SHOULD we now fill up the above blank, that mighty chasm, what shall we peruse there? But narratives of the prostitution of honours—the general decay of virtue—the lethargic state of a divided and cowardly ministry—the
 insults

insults unrevengeed, that have been offered to us
 by foreign states—the languid tide of commerce
 —the great demands for loans, additional taxes
 and pensions—the alarming failures of bankers
 and merchants—the appointing of men, unskil-
 led in business and ignorant of the constitution,
 to guide the helm of these *once* mighty nations—
 the remissness and corruption of our trustees—
 breach of the royal word—dispensing with the
 laws of the land—overturning the ancient mode
 of trials by JURIES.—Blush, CONOLLY, and
 hide your faces, *ye traitors*, that aided that
 mortal stab to the constitution. Each of these
 misfortunes, separately considered, would make
 it high time to awaken *ye* from your almost fa-
 tal lethargy. But when they all come accu-
 mulated in one *mass* of iniquity, YE must form
 a strong body to oppose them; your spirit and
 your actions must equal the emergency of the
 cause. Even suppose that some timid person
 should accuse you of resenting your injuries
 hastily. YE have justice and truth on your
 side; therefore you might answer as *Jason the*
Thessalian did, “*that some things must be done*
“ unjustly, that many things may be done justly.”
 Should there appear another intrepid BECK-
 FORD, who would have spirit enough, thus
 to address his Majesty, “*What induced your*
“ Majesty to fix upon GEORGE, Lord Viscount
“ TOWNSHEND, to oppress and ruin your
“ faithful

“faithful Irish subjects, whose loyalty has ever
 “proved steady in support of your royal line?
 “Or who in an evil hour prevailed on your
 “Majesty to enable Sir FRANCIS BERNARD
 “to alienate the affections of the brave Ameri-
 “cans? Or what emissary of the Pretender in-
 “veigled your Majesty to suffer Lord BUTE to
 “make the late peace on such ignominious terms?”
 His Majesty, out of his inward honesty and
 well-intentioned heart, would naturally reply,
 as AUGUSTUS CÆSAR did, who, out of
 great indignation against his two daughters, and
Posthumus Agrippa, his grand-daughter, where-
 of the two first were INFAMOUS, and the last
 UNWORTHY said, “that they were not his
 “SEED, but some IMPOSTHUMES that had
 “broken from him.”

I SHALL conclude this letter with a quota-
 tion from *Sallust*, in hopes that it will be read
 and attended to, by those whom it concerns:

VERUM, ubi pro labore desidia, pro conti-
 nentia et æquitate lubido atque superbia inva-
 sere, fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur. Ita
 imperium semper ad optimum quemque a mi-
 nus bono transfertur.

*But when sloth comes in the place of application,
 and ambition in that of temperance and justice,
 the*

the prosperity of the conqueror changes with his manners, and empire will go over to such as are more worthy.

BRUTUS.

L E T T E R XXXVI.

To the P E O P L E.

Multa me dehortantur a vobis, QUIRITES, ni studium reipublicæ omnia superet; opes factionis, vestra patientia, jus nullum, ac maxume, quod innocentia plus periculi, quam honoris, est.

If the great concern I had for the public did not outweigh all considerations, I have things enough, my countrymen, to deter ME from standing up in defence of your cause; as the strength of faction, your own tameness, no justice, and above all, the EXPERIENCE that honesty is attended with more danger than credit. SALLUST.

I HEARTILY congratulate ye on the certainty of your present Viceroy's being speedily recalled. Let that determination in the Ministry proceed from what motive it may, you have some reason to hope for a relaxation, if not a redress,

redress, of your grievances. It is not the office of a Lord Lieutenant that *originates* the tyrant; it is the natural temper of the *man*; it is congenial with his being: The genuine bent of his mind proves the rule of his conduct. Ye have had HERTFORD'S, HALIFAX'S and BEDFORD'S: Even they could boast of some virtue and some principles of honour; but your present Viceroy cannot be charged with doing any one praise-worthy act; except the few that were allowed him in the former account of debtor and creditor, and the relieving the old woman that had the *Polipus* in her head, and the miraculous guinea given to the lame man. Was *he* to curse you with his residence here for another session, a century of prosperity could not recompense you. It may be argued that all Viceroys are alike, and that the next will follow the steps of the present, and carry the remnants of his plans into execution: However, ye may comfort yourselves with the reflection, that only one TOWNSHEND is produced in an age. Succeeding generations must imagine, that ye had been guilty of some great and enormous sins against your Creator, to have received so manifest a sign of his wrath and indignation, by his suffering Lord TOWNSHEND to tyrannize so long over you. The vengeance of an injured, plundered, and exhausted nation, may overtake him ere he lands on ALBION'S shore; but

should he even live to reach that shore in safety, he must for ever, if he gives himself time for recollection, feel the poignant stings of a guilty conscience. The robbery of Sir EDWARD NEWENHAM's family would have stained, with additional infamy, even the reign of JAMES II. The blood-minded judge *Jefferies* would have hesitated at committing *such* an act, as he had not a precedent in history for; and the recollection of that act must prove to the guilty mind of TOWNSHEND, an enormous weight sufficient to sink him still deeper into the regions of darkness. Had Lord TOWNSHEND dismissed Mr. *Adderley*, Sir *James May*, Mr. *Handcock*, Mr. *Lysaght* and Mr. *Langrish*, it would have somewhat lessened the partiality of that act, as these gentlemen had for two sessions, either absented themselves from parliament, or voted against his Excellency, particularly against the first address; and Mr. *Langrish* threw up one of his employments, with a spirited speech. But Lord TOWNSHEND was determined, by every act of his administration, to open the inmost recesses of his *own* soul, and prove the spring of all his actions, by manifesting to the world, that he was a *steady foe to virtue, and a constant patron of corruption*. Haughty and supercilious in prosperity, ye see him now abject and dispirited at the dreadful warrant of his long-wished recall. His *minions* give out that he intends to remain
here

moderate and sensible *Papists* of these more enlightened days. When such is the doctrine of your clergy—when such are the measures adopted by a venal and self-loving parliament—when such are the measures of a corrupt and ignorant administration when such are the *wise* manœuvres of a privy council formed on the LUNATIC system—Can any honest *Irishman* blame BRUTUS for holding the mirror up to nature? These realms know of no constitution; but that which upholds MAGNA CHARTA, the *Bill of Rights* and trials by *Juries*, and secures our lives and properties by known and established laws and customs, which are, or at least ought to be, the standing rule of every chief magistrate's government and the people's obedience. REMEMBER, OH! YE PEOPLE, that allegiance and protection are reciprocal; ye cannot owe allegiance where you have not protection. Should any chief magistrate attempt to overturn the constitution, he ought to be driven from *your* chief chair of state, and sent, like *Nebuchadnezaer*, to graze amongst the beasts of the field.

THE late defection of some pretended patriots, has proved of service to your cause, by more firmly uniting the real friends of this country; their defection has raised the contempt and indignation of all honest men. If ye, the faithful

ful friends of the *Brunswick* line, and the sincere supporters of the constitution, are just to yourselves and posterity, not tame, whilst wicked men are bold, nor idle whilst your enemies are active, *ye* will deter a future administration from oppressing you; *ye* will then see faction laid low and confounded, by that shame and disappointment which always attend such bad men and worse measures. Power has been too generally and erroneously stiled *greatness*; but neither power, wealth or knowledge can make a *great* man; nor are these qualities *great* in any other sense, but as they are greatly subservient to *goodness* and *virtue*; for these are the only foundation of true *greatness*, and he alone is a *great* man, whose heart is strongly disposed to acts of justice and humanity, benevolence and virtue; and who has fortitude to despise all dangers, when put in competition with the public weal; who acts upon truly liberal principles for the good of his fellow-subjects, as long and as strenuously as he is able, and, if necessary, gloriously falls in defence of virtue and liberty. My name-fake BRUTUS did not attain to the character of a truly *great* man, for he died by his own hands, thereby shewing a sullen stubbornness and high pride of heart, more than *true greatness*. He was possessed of great benevolence, and animated by a sincere regard for the liberties of his country,

but he wanted fortitude and resolution to bear the adverse course of affairs, and wait the event of time. *

If ye view the history of former reigns, it will appear evident, that for one Prince who has been undone for his own personal vices, ten have experienced every difficulty, and been made unhappy by the ill advice, corruption, or treachery of their *favourites*. To say that it is not lawful to resist a *King* who breaks the laws of the land, is to argue against the great universal law of nature and reason, which commands every person and all bodies of people to relieve themselves when distressed, and to defend themselves and their properties against all *invaders*. All laws must give place to the reason of things and the happiness of the *people*. The law of nature and reason obliges all *intelligent* beings to those actions which tend to preserve and render mankind more happy and secure. The present administration in both kingdoms is a faction against the public weal: The cause of a few *insignificant* beings is put in competition with the rights and happiness of the many: *Remonstrances* have been disregarded of late in *England*, and the resolutions of an *Irish* parliament have

* See the motto to Brutus's sixth letter, page 27.

been despised. When a private man betrays his trust, a few only may suffer, but when the united body of the *legislature* is corrupted and enslaved, it naturally follows that injustice and tyranny will seek an establishment, under colour of law, and of course the constitution must be annihilated. SWEDEN is a recent instance of the dangerous consequences attending the maintaining too large a body of troops, especially in times of profound peace. The unnecessary augmentation of the army here, may prove as subversive of our liberties; it may enforce the *ultimate* design of Lord TOWNSHEND's protest: your parliament was once surrounded by a military force, the clashing of firelocks resounded within the sacred walls of liberty; your representatives entered their house with bayonets at their breasts, and the *freedom* of debate was awed: the unfortunate *Reynolds* was the tool employed on that dreadful occasion; the present * Lord *Mayor* has shewed equal pliancy of temper; but the † Lord *Mayor* elect is of a different way of thinking; if BRUTUS can form a judgment of him, the citizens of *Dublin* will appear in their proper light through his conduct; he seems to have a spirit of independency, and a regard for his own character; he will not submit to the

* Alderman Forbes.

† Alderman French.

arbitrary dictates of any Viceroy, but will prove himself heir to the virtues of his predecessor, the late Alderman *French*, who was justly stiled the good Lord *Mayor*.

POWER is the medium of happiness, and every good man has equal claim to it; for he that has a right to the end, has a right to the means. When the community is enslaved, its arms are employed to support one or more tyrants, and oppress the *people*. A Prince without controul is a tyrant: though good in his own domestic affairs, he must be very bad in government. What oppression and tyranny is it to exert authority against national enquiries, and punishing men for giving free opinions? The ORIGINAL of all power is in *you*; governments and governors were instituted for your benefit, and not you for theirs: all laws should tend to the security of your persons and properties; and these laws should be the standing measure of your chief magistrate's (viz. the *King's*) government and your obedience. The contemptible hirelings that write for the *Mercury* of *lies* never endeavoured to support the principles of the revolution; on the contrary, every line of their political writings contained unjust censures on the conduct of the friends of those principles. They had long held forth Lord TOWNSHEND as an emblem of virtue, patriotism, and honour.

BRUTUS

BRUTUS would long since, have *anatomized* their futile arguments, but he had still some hopes that TOWNSHEND would have realized their encomiums: he has waited to see the errors (if any) in his account of debtor and creditor rectified: not a single line have they wrote in his defence! Ungrateful men! they have deserted their *fallen* patron, to idolize the *rising* HARCOURT. They are now the emblem of the heroic secretary Sir *George Macartney*, who having been overpowered by argument in a certain debate with Mr. FLOOD, meanly descended to a species of scurrility in the place of argument, *Unfortunate man!* there he exposed himself for ever; FLOOD retorted with a torrent of truth and eloquence, and in the conclusion, gave the *Knight* of the *Three Crows* such a kind of contradiction, that, in the opinion of the hearers, required a *personal* settling. The blustering Secretary alarming the house, as he was alarmed himself, with hasty steps *retreated* from it. Calm, and unruffled FLOOD remained. At length that willing emissary, in any mean act, *Thomas Allen*, officiously offered himself to bring back the *Knight*: with haste he flew, and found the *Knight* reclined on his *sofa*, safe within the Castle walls, from whence, to the astonishment of the members, he brought him to the house; where the *poor Knight* appeared in *doleful* plight, his face was pale, his eyes were hollow, his pace

was trembling, and a certain wildness appeared in his visage; but soon the cloud was dispelled, and the *sola hero* appeared as gay as if he had met the damsel of his intrigue, when, behold! the Speaker, with *awful* voice and *solemn* brow, bound them both over to keep the peace. It was really a pitiable thing that no one friend could be found to whisper in the *Knight's* ear this wholesome advice, "*remain in your place until the house breaks up, and then in private demand a proper satisfaction for the indignity you have suffered in the face of your country.*" The well-polished *Kilkenny* marble eclipsed the brightness of the *Russian* star; the garter should then have been applied to its *proper* use.

BRUTUS is fully sensible how nice and arduous a task he undertook in offering his sentiments to the TRIBUNAL of the *people*, on the present state of affairs, when he knew there were so many men in this kingdom much more able, better versed in history, and possessed of far more elegant language than he can boast of; however poor in diction his writings may appear, he hopes the sincerity of his regard for your welfare, which guided his willing pen, and the greatness of the subject treated of, will somewhat balance their faults. His inclination has always directed his services to the public weal. If the administration of the next Lord Lieutenant

nant tends to alleviate your distresses, BRUTUS will endeavour to do him justice, for his pen would more willingly *praise* than *censure* any man, or set of men. Much, OH! YE PEOPLE, depends on yourselves; for by your spirited directions to your members, the sense of the independent (which is the only real) interest will be known. Though BRUTUS is confident he has not said as much as the greatness of the subject would admit of, yet he must rest happy in having delivered his honest sentiments. He has neither pique, quarrel, or dislike to any single man in the universe; it is measures, not men, that he condemns. For a few posts he takes his leave of you, with his most *sincere* and fervent prayer, that whatever course you take, it may prove fortunate, glorious to yourselves, and advantageous to posterity.

'Tis not in mortals to command success:
But we'll do more, Sempronius;—we'll deserve it.

BRUTUS.

LETTER

L E T T E R XXXVII.

To the COMMITTEE for conducting the
FREE-PRESS.

'Tis with our judgments, as our watches,
none

Go just alike, yet each believes his own.

POPE.

GENTLEMEN,

Nov. 19, 1772.

UNPLACED, *unpensioned, unpaid*, I entered as a volunteer into the service of liberty, when I thought she was endangered, and at a time when attempts were made to divide, and consequently to weaken the Protestant interest. My plan was liberal; being no other than to give the people rational and consistent notions of civil and religious liberty; to assert the right of private judgment, and to cultivate that noble freedom in thinking and acting, which are the glory of human nature. I was anxious to have Protestants of every denomination united and strongly cemented together, (in their views for the public welfare) and this, on the broad, firm foundation of universal, unconfined benevolence, amidst a variety of opinions, by which every man's religion would

would be properly his own, and wear the stamp of sincerity. This would be according to nature and christianity, and from such a pleasing diversity, a beautiful harmony in the moral world would be established, instead of that uniformity in sentiments, which in the present state of things is impossible, and would not be honourable to free agents, formed for truth and liberty. To remove prejudices, I explained several interesting parts of history; and the foundations of civil government. I defended the political principles of the Protestant dissenters, when that body was unprovokedly attacked by the writers for a despotic government. These letters were well received by the public. They were blustered at, and some quotations given from *Swift* against them, but not answered; tho' I desired an answer and offered to defend every objection. I took care to assert nothing, but on the fullest evidence, and I trust, the parliamentary, and other authorities, with which almost every part of my letters is enforced, are too strong and weighty to be removed by a numerous tribe of writers, who go no farther into an argument, than mere assertions. One of this class is the *loyal Protestant*, who writes without producing evidence of any sort. I had determined to take no notice of such, nor, in future, shall I, unless they thoroughly enter into the merits of the question, and place stronger authorities of the same kind against those I have.

have adopted. And this they can never do, unless they can find parliaments and philosophers contradicting their own statutes and maxims. This same *smooth loyal Protestant*, under the appearance of moderation, I can see, with half an eye, to be an *high flyer*; his wings stand in great need of clipping, which at present I have not time rightly to do, being engaged in the defence of liberty with a giant on the other side,—(*Swift* himself.) One would think a loyal good Protestant would not have fallen on, in the midst of a warm contest; and ye, gentlemen of the committee, who had him in custody, should not have slipt him at me whilst engaged, for a weak enemy hanging on the rere, at such a time, may prove troublesome. But perhaps, hereafter, should he say any thing to the point, or from parliamentary authority, I may attempt to trim and pluck him compleatly. I should not have replied to a parcel of crude assertions, but for his saying,—That the direct tendency of *Search's* letters is, to sow the seeds of dissention among Protestants, or to remove our well grounded jealousy of Papists. The following extracts from some of my letters will evince the contrary, viz.—21 *July*, 1772,—you will observe, I meddle with no man's religion, that being a personal thing, in which he has an unalienable right to judge for himself: If he does not, it is the religion of another he professes,
and

and not his own. All sensible and good men, are of the true religion, as consisting in purity of manners, piety and universal virtue. The different ceremonies they may use in approaching the common parent of all, are of little moment in the eyes of an all-perfect Being, who can only be pleased with sincerity of heart and intention. It is therefore unbecoming his children, who ought ever to be linked together in the bonds of affection, as brethren, to differ about such modes of address, when the great object they mean to honour is the same. Good bishops and clergymen I have always mentioned with respect,—such only as were enemies to the freedom of our constitution, and preached up passive obedience and non-resistance, I have exposed; and that there was a numerous tribe of Levites of this sort, from the time of the first *James*, to the *Hanover* succession, none can deny. These I shall ever maul when they come in my way—and if the *loyal Protestant* will please to read my letter of the 12th of *October* last, he will see, by parliamentary authority, what occasioned the troubles in *Charles First's* reign, and that the ecclesiastical hierarchy, under the influence of an abused prerogative, were the chief causes. This he will see farther explained, very soon, in my concluding strictures on *Swift's* political conduct, when his 30th of *January* sermon shall be considered, *candidly*.

In

In one of my letters, published the 6th of *August* last, are the following observations, viz. (after speaking of the Tory clergy, I say)—The profession is honourable and useful; and it must in justice be observed, that in speaking of the dangerous crisis (in *Queen Anne's* time) there were many of the clergy, who followed not the Rev. multitude to do evil. *A Burnet, a Hoadly, a Clarke*, with several others, were an ornament to their profession. They nobly stood up for, and defended christian liberty. Bad men and measures are only held out to view. Let none think I am writing against an order of men, because they are of that order, or against any religion, or church whatsoever. There is no character I would more esteem, than a sensible worthy clergyman, who is the friend and father of his flock, &c. &c. Notwithstanding this, because I accused Revd. state jobbers, who had disgraced their profession, the writer I am answering, falsely says, he has slandered the established church, reviled its pastors, and decried episcopal superintendency. I suspect our author will be too unwieldy for a literary combat with both church and clergy in his belly. In the same letter, I add,—By public virtue only can our ruin be prevented. To promote which, let every man begin the work of reformation with himself, for on this *only* can the other be founded. The abuse of so many privileges granted

us by an indulgent Providence, tho' denied to other nations, should be most carefully avoided by us, as lovers of liberty, and of our country ; for to speak of this without virtue, is the greatest of all absurdities. These, gentlemen, are some of my opinions, and you will judge of their hurtful tendency. I never denied, the low church Protestants, or Whigs, being most zealous in bringing about the Revolution. My business was to prove that the Dissenters were its hearty friends, and I applauded them for being ready to defend the privileges of their country, and the legal establishment, in *church* and *state*, which were my words in the 12th of *October* letter. The loyalty of the former had not been called in question. In the letter of the 19th of *October*, I said,—The Protestants of the establishment, have happily partaken of the moderation and free principles, that distinguish the present age. Their worth and universal loyalty do them the greatest honour ; and it is to be hoped, that amongst Protestants in general, bigotry and narrow distinctions will cease, that they may unite in the common cause. Many of the established clergy are men of learning, and real virtue, and as far as their limited situation in theology will permit, are friends to freedom of enquiry, and the rights of private judgment. The Protestant religion in itself, is most excellent, if cleared from the rubbish and
many

many useless trappings and appendages with which it is encumbered, and its beauty defaced. The *English* clergy are truly sensible of this, &c. &c. Do these sentiments tend to sow the seeds of dissention? The 21st of *October* letter concludes thus,—Laying aside all party distinctions, and narrow selfish views, let us with brotherly affection, unite to promote the public happiness, being ever most firmly attached to our free and legal constitution, and in every instance in our power, shew a becoming loyalty and affectionate regard to his Majesty's person and government. In my letter of the 10th of *September*, speaking of the number of Protestant Dissenters, I add—It is pleasing to know, that there are such numbers of loyal people of any denomination. It shews our strength, and when properly united among ourselves, what have we to fear from either foreign or domestic enemies? From the 3d of *November* inst. as follows,—Let Protestants of every denomination, be as one man, in defence of our rights and privileges. Their real interests are one and inseparably united. What God hath thus joined together, let no man dare hereafter to put asunder. Tho' this hath lately been attempted by the enemies to liberty, yet have they been baffled in all their designs. After these different quotations, the impartial public will see, that the *loyal Protestant* must be some designing

designing ignorant scribbler, who could assert that *Search's* writings *tended directly* to sow the seeds of dissention among Protestants. The integrity of my intentions, in writing, is such, that I own, I have hardly patience to go through with so invidious and shallow an antagonist. What he says of the Presbyterians, and preferring Dissenters and Quakers to them is truly ignorant and ridiculous. Did I not write in defence of the political principles of the Protestant Dissenters in general? Are not the Presbyterians the greatest branch of that respectable body? I refer to my warm, honourable mention of that glorious cloud of witnesses to the truth, (for my sincerest regard to them) I mean the two thousand ministers who were ejected at once from their livings, in the pious reign of *Charles II.* But in this I need not lose time, it is so foolish an insinuation, that it almost looks, and indeed the whole complexion of the paper, as if the loyal Protestant was a wolf in sheep's cloathing, set on by the triumvirate, to raise prejudices against letters, that are levelled against all slavery, civil and religious. But it is astonishing that any writer could make so vulgar an observation, as to say the no religion of the Quakers. This implies, that he thinks there can be no religion without a priesthood. Narrow and false must be his sentiments in this matter. What is religion? Is it not the imitation

tation of God in sanctity and goodness; or, in other words, the practice of purity, piety and universal virtue from the most generous motives? The essence of all true religion never was nor can be any thing else. It is unalterable, and founded on our sense of good and evil, and original christianity. Pray why may not a Quaker be of this religion? Or any good man? O, but says the *loyal Protestant*, they have no Clergy; *ergo*, no religion. Well argued. Then his religion is founded on the priesthood. Were an honest Quaker ever so pious and good, he would still be the man—of the *no religion*. Well said, charitable loyal Protestant! The right of private judgment belongs to him, and he makes such just conclusions, that it would be a pity to rob him of it. O, my poor Quakers! what will become of you? It is no matter how pure and pious, and meek and good you are. You have no religion: so the loyal Protestant, without charity, says. (His real name is *Loyola*) Well—what's to be done? Christmas is coming on:—One a wanting!—you must get a *Bishop*.—One *Swallow* makes no summer. 2000l. a year amongst you all is not much;—some give five or six—but you will get a special one for two—that will consecrate your Meeting houses and burying ground—preside in your half-yearly assemblies—lay his hands on your heads and money—open your hearts and purses—and then you will

will be like your neighbours. I dare say Dr. *Donough* would do this for one thousand,—that would be a double advantage, for you would have the wet Quaker and wet Bishop united. Now, Mr. *Loyola*, speak to the purpose after this,—no quotations from *Swift*, nor scolding, like your friend *Steady*.—O poor *Jack Meggot*, (for that's his name) was angry when he wrote that letter:—Sing, *loyal* and *Steady*, and *Meggot* and *loyal*—Huzza!—O, Messrs.! O, *Steady*! wherefore art thou *Steady*?—Always ready—*steady, boys steady*. Nothing like good humour—hey for liberty! He would be greatly assisted in his meditations on that subject, if he would read *Barclay's* excellent apology, or the whole independent Whig, particularly the dialogue betwixt the Clergyman and Quaker, where he would see his friend hard pressed by the man of *no religion*. From the weakness of this common-place remark, you may judge of the rest of his ingenious observations. To expose the principles of persecution, and destroy the spirit of it, as well as to promote moderation and universal charity, was the design of the letters on St. *Bartholomew's* massacre, and that of the *Irish* Rebellion; in which I *nothing extenuated, nor set down aught in malice*; but, because I gave an account of that matter, founded on undoubted authorities, which differed from the exaggerated relations he had been used to on that subject, and did not
abuse

abuse the present Catholics for the crimes of their forefathers; he ingenuously concludes, that I palliated the guilt of Papists, &c. &c. Though in my letter, 27th of *August*, on *St. Bartholomew*, I observed, that such scenes of cruelty and religious fury (no matter under what pretence) will eternally remain as a disgrace to human nature itself, and must ever be looked on with horror by all the good and virtuous part of mankind. Speaking of the Catholics, in my letter on the 23d of *October*, I said, they have at present the full exercise of their religion, (an indulgence which no Catholic power gives to Protestants) and under so mild and limited an administration, it must be admitted that their lives and properties, their civil privileges, and the lasting happiness of their posterity, are much more secure, than under an arbitrary government, such as the Pretender's must have been, and always would be, under the influence of *French* counsels. Let loyalty then, contentment, and a due submission to the laws, attended with universal benevolence, and the spirit of liberty, reign in the hearts of all his Majesty's subjects. These letters on the *Irish* massacre were the effect of mature deliberation, and of much labour in searching into the best authorities. It is a subject on which the most candid have differed, and for that reason, I hardly ventured out of the reach of evidence in any one thing I asserted.

Conscious

Conscious of this, and of my impartiality in this matter, I here call upon the loyal Protestant, either to shew where I have palliated or exaggerated in these letters, from higher authorities than I have produced, or to his own presumption in asserting what he cannot prove. I have observed the same caution in almost all my papers; one great design of which is to promote the true Protestant interest, by holding out to view those ambitious ecclesiastics, and *passive obedience gentry*, who, by always siding with arbitrary governments, have more than once brought our religion and liberties to the brink of ruin. If the impartial public shall give a verdict against *Search*, that instead of defending the cause of liberty, his letters have a direct tendency to *sow the seeds of dissention* among Protestants, he will, from that moment, lay down his pen. His case is somewhat hard, for he is attacked by the Mercury writers for his defence of our rights and the Protestant Dissenters, and in the Freeman's Journal for favouring the designs of Catholics. He seems to be between two fires, and he hopes the public, or some writer on the side of freedom will help him out, as he is now so engaged. Every writer, almost, on the side of liberty, from the Reformation to this day, have been abused by half *Protestants*, or such who cannot bear the strong light of new truths. *Milton* seems to have been fully sensible

ble of this, in the following lines, with which I shall conclude :

I did but prompt the age to quit their clogs,
By the known rules of ancient liberty :
When straight a barbarous noise invirons me,
Of owls, and cuckoos, asses, apes, and dogs :
But this is got by casting pearls to hogs.

I HEARTILY wish well to the loyal Protestant, and when his assertions shall come in good company, viz. strong parliamentary authorities, or uncontrovertible, historical facts, will be glad to hear from him, but without these he will never again be replied to by

HUMPHREY SEARCH.

P. S. That *Search's* meaning, in future, may not be misapprehended, he requests it may be noticed, that he never writes against any church, or body of the clergy, as such, but bad men and measures only, no matter to him of what denomination. He dislikes not Bishops, in the Scripture sense of the word, and it is part of his creed, " that he who desires the office of a Bishop desires a good thing." Yet, from their being stuck into the state, which has proved unfriendly to liberty, he cannot truly say that his

pen

pen would run glibly for *episcopal superintendency*. It is, beside, paying very high for being instructed in so plain and simple a thing as religion, the yoke of which is declared to be easy, and its burthen light. *Search* cannot find a single instance, from the Reformation to this day, in which the assemblies of prelates have been favourable to liberty in its full extent, or that the weight of their influence, as a body, was cleanly thrown into the scale to preserve the rights of the people. He will thank the loyal Protestant for pointing out in what history such an honourable testimony may be found. That the high-flying Tory clergy, and episcopalian laity of the same stamp, have ever been on the side of arbitrary governments cannot be denied. That the *Ecclesiastical* hierarchy joined to the stretched prerogative of the crown, have repeatedly endangered our religious and civil liberties, he has proved by authorities, *too weighty, to be removed*. Against such men only hath he written, without intending offence, to the modern established Protestants, or the free, moderate part of the clergy; which his letters will fully evince. Nay, every loyal, consistent Protestant, who wishes well to the honour and interest of his religion, or our civil rights and privileges, should join him in this. He is so far from denying, that the established, Whig Protestants, were friends to the Revolution, that

he will ever assert, they were amongst the foremost, in that glorious enterprize. His mentioning formerly, the Protestant Dissenters, *particularly*, was, because his subject led to it, they having been unprovokedly attacked, and their loyalty called in question. It is his most earnest wish, and whilst he continues to write, shall be his endeavour, that the true, virtuous spirit of freedom, be kept alive, and that Protestants of every denomination (their essential interests being the same) may, with zeal and brotherly affection unite in a firm and manly defence of our free and legal constitution.

L E T T E R XXXVIII.

TO the REMARKER on HUMPHREY
SEARCH's Letters, relating to the *Irish*
Rebellion, 1641.

SIR,

I AM obliged by the favourable sentiments you have expressed concerning the liberality of my principles, in religion and government. I had determined not to reply to any answers, or remarks, to, or on my letters, that were not founded on superior authorities to those I advanced, but must dispense with this resolution,

tion, as truth seems to be the object of your pursuit. I am ever open to conviction, and shall always prefer getting rid of a wrong opinion, and the receiving just information, to the maintaining of error, or gaining a seeming victory, by bold, unsupported assertions, or the sophistry of arguments. The *Irish* Rebellion is a subject, liable to much controversy; and tho' the dreadful scene of it was acted in this country, yet few seem to have consistent notions concerning it. This induced me to write on so disagreeable a topic. But in this, as in all other points, liable to be controverted, I have trod with great caution, and seldom ventured out of the reach of strong testimonies, in what I advanced: where these failed, I followed strong probability as my guide. *Great names*, or *opinions*, however long sheltered, by antiquity, had not, nor ever shall have any influence on my judgment, without evidence. What I judge to be *truth*, shall most impartially be given to the public, regardless what party it makes for, or against. What I have said of Sir *Charles Coote's* conduct and inhumanity in the *Irish* Rebellion, was from clear conviction, and good authority; nor do the severities exercised on our side, in the least excuse the guilt and cruelty, on the other. You say I charge Sir *Charles Coote*, *without hesitation*, (that is not so candid as I could wish) with inhuman conduct, parti-

cularly at *Wicklow*, &c. This, Sir, was not *without hesitation*. For in a most excellent, ancient chronicle, called the 1641 *Irish Remembrancer*, the conduct of Sir *Charles Coote* is particularly animadverted upon, as committing several wanton cruelties, when the Rebellion was almost extinguished. There is such a force of truth in the relation, such an honest simplicity running through the whole book, that it left me no doubts, either of his needless severities, or of the weak and mal-conduct of the Lords Justices, particularly Sir *William Parsons*. But lest you should think this authority insufficient, I shall corroborate what I have asserted, by the testimony of the very respectable and impartial Dr. *Warner*, whose uncommon labours and industry, in collecting materials for an *Irish* history, intitle him to the highest credibility. I know of no writer so much to be depended on, till Dr. *Leland's* history shall appear, and that probably, will give you full insight into the subject, as he has had access to every thing that has been said upon it. Dr. *Warner*, speaking of Sir *Charles Coote*, says,—That having secured the parts about *Navan*, he was ordered to the relief of the castle of *Wicklow*, then straitly besieged, and in great danger of being taken. But the rebels, on his approach, retired into the mountains, and the town being left at his mercy, he put to death several persons, without distinction
of

of age or sex, in *revenge* of the several spoils committed on the *English* in those parts. He adds—Being provoked by the great damage, which his estate had suffered by the rebels, he committed many acts of cruelty, without distinction; *equal*, in that *respect*, to any of theirs; which gave a general dislike of him, to the wise and good of his own party, and which furnished the *Irish* with a pretence of retaliation. Speaking of what was done at *Clontarf*, which he mentions—to be too indiscriminate and severe, he adds—Severe, however, as it was, Sir *Charles Coote* took care to execute it to the full. He marched out with some soldiers privately to *Clontarf*, which belonged principally to *King*, and suffering his men to pillage the place, they burnt many of the houses, and particularly part of his mansion-house, in which some of the goods were found that had been taken out of the *bark*. The rebels at *Swords*, who were rather exasperated at what had been done at *Clontarf*, sent one of their parties to *Santry*, and another to *Finglass*, where they robbed and plundered the Protestants, even to the suburbs of the city, till a thousand men were sent against them, under Sir *Charles Coote*, who put them all to flight, and burnt, perhaps, very *unjustly*, the parts of those two towns, in which the rebels had been quartered. He says further, that *seven* Lords of the *pale*, declared, that they beheld with ter-

ror his inhuman acts in the county of *Wicklow*, the late massacre at *Santry*, and the burning Mr. *King's* house and substance at *Clontarffe*. About this time, there was a reinforcement sent from *England*, with Sir *Simon Harcourt*, but it proved not sufficient to reduce the rebels. The body assembled at *Swords* had been an object of terror, both to the council and people. Sir *Charles Coote* was sent out against them, who entirely routed them, burnt the town of *Swords*, and some adjacent villages, as either belonging to their chiefs, or as quarters for their entertainment: A severity which fell promiscuously among Protestants as well as Papists, and was at that time unseasonable, now their danger was at an end. Thus far Dr. *Warner*, relating to Sir *Charles Coote*. After reading which, you, as well as the public will judge, whether I charged him, *without hesitation*, for being inhuman.

You go on to remark, that you much question, whether I am authorised, to vilify the Lords Justices, in point of judgment, &c. or to say, that Sir *William Parsons* could just read and write, &c. Though this sort of surmise, is not intitled to any answer, in the way of writing—I will, for *this once*, for your satisfaction, give you Dr. *Warner's* words concerning these Lords Justices, who, to me, appear, in almost their whole conduct, to have been weak and covetous.

vetous. *Parsons*, treating *O'Connolly's* information so slightly, suffering him to escape, and losing so-much time, in such an exigency, shews how unfit he was for such a station, were there nothing else against him. I shall put down what *Dr. Warner* says of both him and *Sir John Borlace*, the other Lord Justice, viz. *Sir William Parsons* was an Englishman of mean extraction; and *reading* and *writing*, was all the learning he had. With these qualifications, and about forty pounds in money, he went over to *Ireland*, to make his fortune, (many an hungry adventurer has since followed his example.) He began the world in that country in the service of the *Escheator General*, &c. was much addicted to avarice, and not troubled with scruples about the ways of getting money, he soon grew rich, &c. Though he owed the posts which had enabled him to amass his riches, and the grants of his estate to the King's bounty, yet being still as selfish and greedy of wealth as ever, and finding that his Majesty's power was sunk in that of the Parliament, he struck into their measures, and, by their recommendation, was made one of the Lords Justices. I will add, with truth, that the hope of forfeitures, which his great avarice suggested, was one cause of lengthening out the Rebellion, and of much mischief. *Sir John Borlace* had been bred a soldier in the wars of the Low Countries; was a man of a quiet, easy na-

ture, of no extraordinary parts, but honest, open, and without design, &c. The genius that he had was wholly confined to his profession of arms, and when he was made a Lord Justice, he was old, indolent, and inactive; giving himself little trouble about the exercise of his power, and leaving all to the management of his colleague. These were the men, at that time, entrusted with the *administration of affairs in Ireland*; and, under these, it is no wonder that, with other circumstances occurring, a conspiracy should make such astonishing progress. You see, Sir, from these quotations, and the facts related in my letters, I asserted nothing without evidence. And, in future, the public may be assured, that when I treat of any disputed points, or mention characters with disrespect, that I shall have undoubted authority for so doing. My past letters, on subjects that have never yet been touched upon in news-papers, are chiefly founded upon the most respectable testimonies; nor shall I ever deal in mere assertions, nor answer any who do. Liberal as my plan has been, I have had no less than five batteries to silence, within these two months; and I have the satisfaction to think, that some prejudices have been removed, and that it will be hard to get over the many and strong authorities I have produced in favour of my arguments. As to Sir *John Temple*, whom you mention, his
evidence

evidence is inadmissible on this subject, for reasons I have given in my letters, to which I refer. His accounts are sometimes contradictory, greatly exaggerated, particularly as to the numbers massacred; and not to be depended upon. As I before said, he had suffered by the rebellion, in his property, and his fears had not left him when he was writing that *vague history*. He was, likewise, a jobber for government, and, therefore, not to be depended on, when speaking of their measures. The *commissioners*, who had been appointed to enquire into the grievances of the army, made a report against the *custodiam* of the *mills* of *Kilmainham*, by Sir *John Temple*, who had made a prodigious gain by the *toll* of all the corn that was ground there for the forces in and about *Dublin*, to the great prejudice of the army; and by several letters of his and Sir *William Parsons*, then intercepted, (designed for *England*) several false representations appeared to have been made of the state of *Ireland*, (which practice I fear has continued to this day). These, I think, sir, are the principal characters you say I have treated severely in my letters; I have given you my reason at large, because you write like a gentleman, and as desirous of being convinced. As I have nothing more to offer concerning these men, I hope you will think what I have said satisfactory, and that I did not assert any thing *without hesitation*.

As the public would soon be tired with altercations and replies on this subject, your good sense, will, no doubt, discontinue them, as I most assuredly shall; for it shall be my endeavour to avoid such disputes, from which the testimonies and authorities I constantly produce, will, I hope, deliver

HUMPHREY SEARCH.

December 15, 1772.

P. S. I was in hope that had the above been published on *Saturday* last, the candid author of the remarks would have discontinued them; but as he has, in this day's Journal, objected to what I have said, relating to the inhuman orders of the then Lords Justices, and the use of the *rack*, I shall, by way of conclusion, confirm my former observations. That the Lords Justices gave out several cruel commissions of *martial law* cannot be denied, viz. by empowering the lords and gentlemen of the *pale* to pursue and put to death, in *battle* or *otherwise*, according to their discretion, all the traitors and their adherents; and to take and spoil all their castles, houses, goods, or territories, &c. The marquis of *Ormond*, whose conduct was nearly irreproachable, on considering the wild and cruel orders which were given, went himself with

para.

part of the army to dislodge three thousand of the rebels, posted at a castle within seven miles of *Dublin*. This he did from humanity. The orders issued were in the following words, viz. "To kill and destroy rebels and their adherents and *relievers*; to burn, waste, consume, and demolish all the places, towns, and houses where they had been relieved and harboured, with all the corn and hay there; and also to kill and destroy all the male inhabitants capable to bear arms." Could such orders proceed from any thing but the most savage rourardice and cruelty? You say that I have unjustly accused them of inhumanity, and gone unwarrantable lengths, &c. Let the public now judge, after reading the above, and they will see that I have rather palliated matters than exaggerated them. Earnestly do I wish for the honour of the Protestant cause, that nothing like inhumanity and revenge had ever been practised for its defence. True courage, heroism, and greatness of mind, always have been, and ever will be attended with gentleness and lenity. Needless severities, or any thing that looks like persecution or revenge, we disclaim and abhor, as contrary to the free and unalterable spirit of protestantism. But in writing to the public; or of any event, *impartiality* shall be my motto—truth shall be declared, no matter what side of the question it may effect. I shall be ambitious to have my papers live, to

be

be depended upon, and referred to on future occasions. I must here observe, in justice to Lord *Ormond*, that he drove those rebels out of their fastnesses, and only burnt a few houses to effect it. Lord *Clanricarde*, whose bravery and humanity at *Galway*, are well known, received the submission of the rebels, and granted them his protection till the King's pleasure should be known; but these weak and cowardly justices sent him express orders, viz. "To receive no more submissions from any rebels whatever, but to prosecute them with fire and sword." Such were their bloody *mandates*, fit only for a *Nero* or a *Domitian*. Indeed most of these orders were unnecessary, for they well knew, and own it in their letters, "that the soldiers in executing their commands, murdered all persons that came in their way, promiscuously, not sparing the women, and sometimes the children." I will farther add, from the best authorities, and several corroborating circumstances, that but for the slowness, avarice, and cowardly, *irresolute conduct* of these Lords Justices, Messrs. *Parsons* and *Borlace*, most of the above evils would have been prevented, and the rebellion put an end to much sooner, and with vastly less mischief to the Protestant interest.

You say you have not met with any convincing evidence of *M^r Mabon's* being put to the rack,

rack; &c. That may be, but this way of writing is not the method of answering letters founded on authorities: But that Colonel *M^c Mabon* and Lieutenant Colonel Sir *John Read* were both put to the rack, and to little purpose, cannot be denied, though most contrary to *law*, as well as to the spirit of the constitution, and without the King's knowledge. Colonel *M^c Mabon's* examination, at the time, is amongst the Bishop of *Clogher's* manuscripts in the College library: Sir *John Read's* papers that were seized, could not, in the least, subject him to punishment, but he was put upon the rack and examined, rather I suppose to criminate others, as he had never been active in the rebellion. His fate was severe. He was sent a prisoner to *England*, and there outlawed for high treason; his goods were seized upon; his lady and children turned out of doors; and when she, in the deepest distress, petitioned *Parsons*, who could just read and write, for some part of the effects to support herself and children, he absolutely refused her, though the Barons of the *Exchequer*, to whom her petition was referred, certified that it did not appear to them what her husband's offence was, nor for what cause the crown might be entitled to his goods or estate. You own, in your remarks, that you remember the cases of *Read* and *M^c Mabon*, but add, "I think the fond recriminations of the malignant
(meaning

(meaning me I suppose) muster up no more." In this you are much mistaken, for Mr. *Barnewall* of *Kilbrew*, a venerable old man, upwards of sixty years of age, a delighter in husbandry, and a lover of quiet, was put to the same torture. The only thing alledged against him was, that he had obeyed a summons for a meeting at the *hill* of *Crofty*, when Lord *Gormanstown* declared an union with the rebels. It does not even appear that he approved of the union. These particulars will, I hope, convince you, that, in my letters, I have asserted nothing rashly, or without evidence,—and as you seem desirous of information, if convinced of the truth and impartiality of my letters, I doubt not but you will candidly acknowledge it. You have drawn from me some disagreeable occurrences, which otherwise should not have appeared. It is observable, that Lord *Maguire* and Col. *McMahon*, were sent to *England*, and committed to the Tower in 1642.—After two years imprisonment, they made their escape; but about three months afterwards, one of them, looking out of the window of the house, in which they were concealed, to call after a woman, crying oysters, he was known by a servant passing by, who giving information to the Lieutenant of the Tower, they were seized, brought to their trial, and executed. I shall conclude, with the words of the judicious Dr. *Warner* on this subject,

ject; which are a further proof of what I have asserted, viz. The arbitrary power exercised by the Lords Justices on every side, their illegal exertion of it, in bringing people to the rack, to draw confessions from them; their sending out so many parties from *Dublin*, and other garrisons, to kill and destroy the rebels, in which care was seldom taken, to distinguish; and men women and children were promiscuously slain; but above all, the *martial law*, executed by Sir *Charles Coote*, and the burning the pale, for seventeen miles in length, and twenty-five in breadth, by the Earl of *Ormond*. These measures not only exasperated the rebels, and induced them to commit the like cruelties, but they terrified the *Irish* nobility and gentry from all thoughts of submission, as there was no hope of pardon, nor any means of safety left them but in the sword, &c. &c. May these things inspire every party with moderation, with an abhorrence of persecution and cruelty, and teach them, whatever may be their religious sentiments, to live together like brethren in the bonds of unity and peace! *Amen.*

HUMPHREY SEARCH.

LETTER

L E T T E R XXXIX.

To the P E O P L E.

“Dii, quibus imperium est animarum, umbræ-
 “que silentes,

“Et CHAOS et PHLEGETHON, loca nocte si-
 “lentia late,

“Sit mihi fas audita loqui; sit numine vestro
 “Pandere res alta terra et caligineertas.

“*Infernal Gods, who rule the shades below,*

“*CHAOS and PHLEGETON, ye realms of woe,*

“*Grant what I've heard, I may to light expose,*

“*Secrets which earth, and night, and Hell in-
 “close.”* VIRGIL.

MY absence from the metro-
 polis deprived me of seeing the long-laboured
 exposition of Lord Townshend's account, as
 debtor and creditor, to and with the *Irish* na-
 tion. It must be allowed, that *Verax*, (or ra-
 ther *Mendax*) deserves to be rewarded with
twenty pounds a year out of the late Lord *Ch-*
van's pension; for the wretched slave has har-
 rassed his corrupted brain from the 31st of *Aug-*
ust to the 26th of *September*, to vindicate his
FORLORN patron. His long-laboured pro-
 ductions

ductions brings to our mind an old saying, *parturiunt montes nascitur ridiculus mus*. I would not disgrace my pen by answering such a prostituted *hireling*, only silence might be deemed, by some persons, as an acknowledgment of the truth of *Verax's* assertions. His motto, indeed, is a true picture of the light in which Lord *Townshend* and his supporters look upon the *Irish* nation. Lest the public might not have seen his well *chosen* portrait, I now transcribe it.

“ *Holding them*
 “ *In human action and capacity,*
 “ *Of no more soul, or fitness in the world,*
 “ *Than camels in the war, who have their pro-*
 “ *vender*
 “ *Only for bearing burthens, and sore blows*
 “ *For sinking under them.*”

VERAX sets out with complimenting himself and party on their wisdom in not answering any of the various writings which have been published against the destructive measures of the present administration, in the *Freeman* and *Hibernian Journals*. *Verax* and his coadjutors must be allowed to have shewn some regard to truth by their tacit acknowledgment of the charges of criminal conduct, as alledged against Lord *Townshend* in my eight former letters. *Verax* calls the *red* and *black list* a dull, fastidious,

ous, lying performance, and yet he has not been able to prove it so, except by vain and idle declamation, mixed with *Billingsgate* abuse. "Let the galled jade wince." *Verax* has the effrontery to declare, that he is the last man that would prostitute his pen to defend corruption; and in the same paper; he attempts to defend the most corrupted and tyrannic administration, that ever cursed this nation since the bloody reign of his favourite *James II.* He has the audacity to charge the *Presbyterians* with crimes, which their principles, both civil and religious abhor. He charges them with perverting the act of toleration, and says, that their conduct in 1746 occasioned the blood and tyranny which ensued, insomuch, that the oppressed nation preferred even the return of the *Stuart* race to a mob government. ATTEND, OH! YE PROTESTANTS, to the doctrine and language of this trumpeter of the principles of the *present* administration. He has the daring effrontery, under the sanction of (that faithful tool to Lord *Bute*) Lord *Townshend*, to declare that æra of the reign of *George II.* a mob government, supported by blood and tyranny; and that the oppression of the people in 1746, made them wish for the return of the *Stuart* family. *Verax!* in the name of the IRISH PROTESTANTS, BRUTUS thanks you for this honest and open declaration of your's and party's principles:
The

The execution of the Earls of *Kilmarnock* and *Bulmerino*, and of Lord *Lovat*, for the Rebellion in 1745, are now held forth as acts of blood and tyranny; and the *Hanoverian* administration is denominated a mob government. *Sacheverel* himself could not more strenuously arraign the principles of the Revolution than his worthy Grand-child *Verax* has done; in *that* avowal BRUTUS cannot accuse *Verax* of dissimulation, for he has realized BRUTUS's opinion of his patron's principles; he has methodically revived the long exploded doctrine of passive obedience, non-resistance, and indefeasible hereditary succession. As to the *Presbyterians* having a fixed enmity to every wretched, innocent *Catholic*, that is a most absurd assertion, as they and all *Protestants* are *Catholics* themselves, and supporters of the true and holy *Catholic* faith: But if this *Stuart* writer means the *Papists*, sometimes miscalled *Roman Catholics*, BRUTUS, though not a *Presbyterian*, but being acquainted with their principles, can aver the *Presbyterians* have not any dislike to the deluded *Papists*, except when they make religion subservient to tyranny and assassination. The *Irish Presbyterians* are certainly criminal in the eyes of *Verax* and his associates, who cannot forgive their spirited defence of *Derry*, or their constant support of liberty. *Verax* says, that the general voice of the kingdom applauds the conduct of Lord
Townshend,

Townsbend, by the testimonials he has received from so many counties and corporations: Why does not *Verax* mention the names of those respectable corporations and counties? *Verax* finds fault with BRUTUS for mentioning Lord *Townsbend's* charities: *Verax!* thou canst not say that it was I that did it, for your favourite Mercury filled a column of its wretched paper with blazoning forth those mighty charities; BRUTUS, as an impartial accountant, only gave his Excellency credit for them: I shall now reply to your stating the account; and in order to set that matter in a clear light, shall recapitulate my original charges and your answers, together with my replication.

BRUTUS's original charges, and VERAX's answers.

Prorogation.

VERAX's Answers.

To be imputed to Mr. P. and the Patriots who passed a useless and unconstitutional vote. The Parliament met the following winter merely to transact the national business, in consequence of a decent and duti-

BRUTUS's replication.

The hardiest court veteran never presumed in parliament, to say, it was an useless or an unconstitutional vote. Nor can any man pretend to say that the Commons have not a right to negative any bill they please, and when their
ful

ful address from the
City of Dublin.

*privileges were attack-
ed, it was their duty to
resent the insult. If the
Privy council were al-
lowed to originate Mo-
ney Bills, future Parli-
aments would only meet
to pass the taxes and
then be prorogued.*

*Oppression of the Ve-
terans at Kilmæinham.*

Answer.

An absolute fallhood.

The contemptible
string of lies on this
head can be confuted
by the testimony of e-
very Governor of the
Hospital.

*Is not Mr. Under-
wood appointed Provi-
dore of that Hospital in
consequence of his vote
in Parliament? Did he
not attempt, under the
sanction of Lord Town-
shend, to raise his per-
quisites on the ruin of
that charitable fund?*

Riot-Act.

Answer.

All counties should
have a Riot-Act who
prefer a legal to a mob
government.

*This is a species of
the old Leaven; LA-
TET ANGUIS IN
HERBA. The present
government have in part
robbed five counties of
the benefit of MAGNA
CHARTA, which in
section XXVI. expressly
says, " And none of the
" said amercements shall
Pensions*

" be offered; but by oath
 " of good and lawful
 " men of the NEIGH-
 " BOURHOOD."

*Pensions to Whores
 and Pimps.*

Answer.

The charge on the civil list for pensions is decreased 6000l. per annum during Lord Townshend's administration; nor has he loaded the establishment with a single one for any of his blood, or relations. An unprecedented instance of his disinterestedness.

BRUTUS did not charge Lord Townshend with providing for any of his blood or relations. Lord Townshend had gone such lengths in ruining this kingdom, that he was obliged to bribe the Representatives of the people to save his own impeaching. The Holy Mother Church, the law and the army know the charge of whores and pimps to be true. Death reduced many pensions, Lord Townshend renewed them. Verax, why did you forget the military list of pensions, together with Major Staunton's and Mr. Dunbar's?

Squandering the public money to purchase members of parliament.

Answer.

An absolute falshood.

An uncontroverted fact
 If

If the charge could be proved, why did your patriots drop their long blazoned enquiry?

Who purchased Swan's seat? Who granted Mr. Berresford a thousand a year for his own and his son's life? Who made Sir George Macartney, constable of Toon on the river Bana, with a thousand a year salary? Who created four new Surveyor Generals? Who made a coward Deputy Governor of Cork, and created a new employment for the insignificant little puppy, that was formerly Deputy Governor? Who granted the Prime Serjeant an additional salary? Who pensioned Dunbar?

Obstructing the Act, That the Judges should hold their employments. Quam diu se bene gesserint.

Answer.

The nation is obliged to Lord Townshend for his good intentions: He promoted and recommended this act in the strongest manner. The Prime Serjeant last sessions explained the true principle why

Why was not that bill forwarded in due time after it passed the House of Commons? Why did three sessions elapse without it? There cannot be a doubt, that if Lord Townshend meant to have the Bill pass in a clause

a clause was inserted in that bill which induced the Commons to reject it.

Giving livings to ungodly men.

Answer.

Puritanic cant and nonsense.

to a law, he would have recommended it, and consequently the Ministry would have agreed to it.

Doctor Dennis is a pious and religious Divine, never inebriated, never swears, and is a pattern of exemplary Piety.

*Exquisite fiend? Satan's undoubted seed!
How does thy likeness justify thy breed?
What pity 'tis, it ever should be said,
That thou didst eat our holy Church's bread!*

Augmentation act.

Answer

The best military regulation ever adopted. — Prerogative restrained, and the defence and security of the kingdom provided for by the same means.

The surest support of arbitrary power. A notorious breach of the Royal promise, that 12000 effective men should reside constantly here. Productive of having more commissions to bribe Members of Parliament. And perhaps Breach

to dragoon, Gustavus-like, the Cammons of Ireland into a surrender of their privileges.

Breach of the Royal Promise.

Answer.

Absolutely false.—The army is as compleat as possible, allowing for deaths and desertion.

Absolute fact.—The army is neither in number of men or regiments compleat, as it should be, allowing double the usual failures by deaths and desertion. The present army in Ireland does not exceed 7000 men.

Sinking the Quarterage bill.

Answer.

It is to be feared the Lord Lieutenant has not so much merit on this occasion as is imputed to him. Ireland is the only Protestant country which does not encourage able and industrious strangers. The bad policy of this injudicious prevention is owing to the pitiful, local jealousies of the noisy and monopolizing corporations of a me-

Vol. II.

A sly insinuation in order to gain the Commons to give some compliment to the departing Tyrant. The quarterage bill was a just and equitable one, it was modelled with the greatest justice and candour. Ah! Verax, it is the honesty and incorruptible integrity of the citizens of Dublin, that grieves you and your supporters: The corporations

tropolis, sinking under
dissipation and faction.

*rations of this City re-
vived the spirit of con-
stitutional liberty and
free elections. And they
have now a chief ma-
gistrate of honour and
principle, who will scorn
to follow the servile flat-
tery of a Geale, a Rey-
nolds, or a Forbes.*

*The spirit of the ab-
sentee tax dispensed
with.*

Answer.

This grateful nation
is indebted to Lord
Townshend for this bill,
&c. &c.

Supporting Popery acts.

Answer.

No acts have been
supported by govern-
ment but such as con-
ciliate the minds of du-
tiful, peaceable, tho'
unfortunate subjects, at
the same time that they
tended to cure that e-
vil which the Freeman
so loudly complains of
—a scarcity of cash.

*This nation is certain
that this tax has been
dispensed with in many
instances.*

*There never was a
Viceroy that did so many
acts to hurt a kingdom,
as Lord Townshend.
His system of govern-
ment has been an unre-
mitting system of cor-
ruption and oppression.
By his supporting the
bill to enable Papists to
have freehold estates in
corporations, he notori-
ously supported Popery.*
Every

*Appointing useless sur-
vivors.*

• Answer.

The improvement or decline of the revenue will prove whether they are useless or not.

*Preventing, or at least
not recommending the
return of Howard's and
Grier's bill.*

Answer.

Another bold lie.—
The true cause of its
failure was occasioned
by some *English* credi-
tors who petitioned the
English Privy Council,
—and their objections
were deemed valid.

*Not encouraging trade,
&c. &c.*

Answer.

Is his Excellency to
live all the summer at
the Castle? &c. &c.

*Every one conversant
in the revenue must al-
low, that there was not
any other occasion for
these new employments,
except to bribe the mem-
bers who now, or here-
after, hold them.*

*This excuse is poor
and absurd. Is Lord
Townshend no more
than the tool of Mr.
Grier? If he had re-
commended it, the success
would have proved his
honesty. The pilfered
guineas were well dis-
posed of by that villain
Grier.*

*His loans and the dis-
like the nobility and
gentry have to attend
his levees, have greatly
H 2 injured*

*inured trade. His le-
vee-begging advertise-
ment was nothing but
a puff.*

*Disgracing the repre-
sentative of Majesty by
keeping company with
the dissolute and aban-
doned.*

Answer.

I much fear his Ma-
jesty himself will be
more disgraced in the
next papers. Who are
these dissolute and a-
bandoned? It is owing
to the charity of the
Freeman that they re-
main in the shade.

*By appointing men,
scarcely a degree above
idiots, to seats at the
Privy-Council Board.*

Answer.

Are their understand-
ings inferior to Lord
Louth's, Lord West-
meath's, Sir William
Mayne's, or Mr. Pon-
sonby's?

His Majesty cannot
be more disgraced than
by his Representative
playing the buffoon, act-
ing the libertine, and
carouzing with Swan,
Haslar, Dennis, Broome
and Simcox.

*For that Brutus re-
fers the reader to the list,
and the worth and bo-
nour of these two noble-
men, is more in value
than the whole bench of
Bishops, taking out Dr.
Mann, Bishop of Cork.*

By appointing men to the office of High Sheriffs.

Answer.

It is notorious that justice is more impartially administered, &c. &c.

Appointment of five Commissioners of the Revenue.

Answer.

The judicious æconomical regulations already adopted in the Revenue, prove their utility.—In a few years Mr. Ponsonby raised the charges of incidents above 26000l. per ann. In a few months the new board reduced them 6000l.

By misrepresenting the whole Irish nation.

The answer to this charge is not worth transcribing.

Is there a sheriff appointed for any county in Ireland, except Dublin, but by the recommendation of a court member?

Why could not the old number of Commissioners have reduced it, as well as twelve? Brutus always condemned the chapter of incidents, as the chapter of JOBS. This was a judicious regulation of the new system of Bribery.

As this is an undeniable fact.

BRUTUS.

H 3

LETTER

L E T T E R XXXIX.

To the LORD-MAYOR, ALDERMEN,
SHERIFFS and COMMONS of the Ci-
ty of DUBLIN.

*Do thou, thy native Courage bravely shew,
Rather than pardon, give the foremost blow ;
To death or exile quick the Traitors drive,
No rebels to the PEOPLE ought to live :*

*Thus LAUD and STUART both with justice
dy'd,*

*Brave CROMWELL, with the PEOPLE
on his side,*

*Thus check'd the Prelate's and the Monarch's
Pride.*

Oct. 22, 1772.

My LORD and GENTLEMEN,

I Particularly address this letter
to you, as you are soon to meet at your Quar-
ter-Assembly. Your conduct as guardians of
the metropolis, must and will have its due weight
with other *free* corporations and counties in
this kingdom. As you are situated at the foun-
tain head, you are supposed to be more inti-
mately acquainted with the state and situation
of

of affairs. From you, the more distant parts of *Ireland* will receive information, and your resolutions may find their way to the throne. The electors of this *metropolis* were the first who threw off the chains of slavery, and raised the spirit of *free* elections, the very idea of which was almost buried in endless night. When the liberties of this country were annihilated, you revived the glorious spirit. Your directions to your representatives inspired them with double ardour. The addresses of the *respectable* corporations of your city, roused the latent spirit of the *free* electors in the kingdom. Some counties, fired with just indignation, at the treachery of their former representatives, justly, on the general election, chose others in their places.

It is rumoured abroad, with great confidence and generally believed, that at the ensuing *Quarter-assembly*, there will be an attempt to obtain a flattering and complimentary address to his *Excellency George, Lord Viscount Townshend*, approving of his conduct during the *æra* of his vicegerency here, and expressive of *concern* at his recall. The tools of administration are so *presumptuously* confident of success, that in all companies, they exult with the idea of obtaining it. As there cannot be a doubt of your loyal body resenting such an attempt to affront you, BRUTUS humbly submits to your

consideration, whether you should not (after rejecting the proffered address) thank your *representatives* in parliament, in the warmest manner, for their steady adherence to and defence of your rights and liberties, for their unwearied pains in endeavouring to prevent the imposition of the new board of excise, the useless board of accounts, the encrease of the enormous pension list, the burthensome loans, which are sinking the current specie of the kingdom into the hands of a few state jobbers; and above all other considerations, to thank them for opposing the *last* address of parliament: An address the most false, absurd and contemptible, that ever did (and perhaps ever will) disgrace the journals of any parliament. Even the pensioned parliament of *Charles II.* did not stoop so low: The very members who moved the address, blushed at their own baseness in meanly rendering that paragraph of falsehoods. Vain and presumptuous! are the slaves of government, who imagine that Alderman *French*, the present worthy and upright *Lord Mayor*, the board of Aldermen, and the ever *virtuous* and loyal Commons and Sheriffs of this metropolis, will follow the disgraceful example of the venal majority of the present *Irish* House of Commons. By several votes and resolutions entered on the Journals of that House, many acts of Lord *Townshend* stand condemned, and yet, *oh! eternal infamy attend them!*

them! at the close of a sessions that *same* body of men, thanked that Viceroy—*who* had ridiculed their votes and resolutions, and despised their addresses,—*who* treated the *Commons of Ireland* with contempt—*who* pensioned whores and pimps—*who* misrepresented the loyalty of the *Irish* nation,—*who* supported Popery—*who* with a malicious sneer, NEGATIVED the QUARTERAGE Bill—*who* has loaded this kingdom with additional charges, to bribe the trustees of the people—*who* created four useless Surveyor's Generals—*who* granted £1000 to the Right Honourable *John Berresford*, (already a Commissioner at £1070 per annum) for a yearly salary, as Taster of Wines, during his own and his son's life; for some that *mock* patriot, and that mirror of *infantine* wisdom, his brother *Tyrone*, pretended a regard for their country. By this absurd appointment, Mr. *Berresford* is created judge and jury—*who* has hitherto, with an unremitting zeal, waded through every scene of corruption and oppression,—*who* has formed a system of taxation that must sink *your* small remains of commerce and trade,—*who* spurns virtue and caresses vice,—*whose* nature is so averse to goodness, that every thing, which bears even the resemblance of it, is baneful to his sight. Such has been the conduct, such are the principles of the man, whose tools intend to insult this loyal city, by tendering an address

to so respectable a body of men as the Corporation of *Dublin*, to *sanctify* his acts, and express their concern at his departure.

If you examine ancient history, you will find vice constantly punished and virtue rewarded, but in these degenerate days, you will see the virtuous man pining in the midst of disappointments and calamities, and the vicious man ending his days, surrounded with riches and power. If men would but quit their inordinate thirst for power, and the desire of appearing considerable, and possess themselves of the true requisites for esteem, they would find happiness a constant attendant throughout life. Vanity, pride, and ambition are the ruin of those men, who have the misfortune to be tinctured with them. Vanity renders a man ridiculous, pride makes him appear odious and disagreeable, and ambition makes the people behold him as a tyrant. Men possessed of any of these bad qualities, ought to be held in detestation by every worthy citizen. It has been owing to some of those qualities that you have lately seen certain men, (whose predecessors supported the Revolution, and who derive their *properties* from that *æra*) endeavour to overturn that glorious fabric of our constitution, and avert those *noble* effects that ought to stream from it. The principles of the Revolution have not been more notoriously perverted, even by
the

the hereditary opposers and sworn enemies of it. The present set of placemen and pensioners are resolved to keep their places and hold their pensions, at the expence of their own honour and their posterity's welfare. *Esau-like*, they have sold their birthright for a mess of pottage; and *Judas and Shannon-like*, they pretended a regard for their country, whilst they meditated its destruction. Men and words may vary and change, but principles never can. A *Jacobite* will be a *Jacobite*. The actions of a man are at all times, a surer rule to know his inward principles by, than any professions or words.

THIS kingdom has but an indifferent prospect of bettering its present distressed condition, unless the generous hand of death makes a mighty chasm in the list of court members, or until another general election happens; for *bribery* has spread its baneful influence far and wide; as it is the shortest, so it is the surest way to destroy the greatest nations; these kingdoms can never be undone but by a parliament: Can it be imagined that a parliament, filled with a majority of delinquents, will ever condemn themselves? Or that an assembly of venal men will find fault with corruption? Can we expect a redress of grievances from that power which originated them? Can there be any hopes of an impartial distribution of justice from a court where cul-
prits

prits are both Judge and Jury? Can those members of parliament vote according to their conscience, who are either prepossessed with the hopes and promises of obtaining places or pensions, or under the slavish fears of losing those they have? The very *being* of our constitution depends on the freedom of Parliament; when that is corrupted we shall retain only the name and outside form, and lose the genuine use of what a Parliament was originally formed for: But should this nation be ever reduced to the deplorable vassalage that the electors of *Ireland* could be brought to thank a tyrant for oppressing them, what will become of our boasted constitution? Can the seeds of commerce or trade ever take root in a country where the idea of constitutional liberty is forgot? The land of liberty is the *natural* soil of trade and industry, as no man will labour in a country where the produce of his industry is sunk in taxes to pay the wages of corrupted members of parliament. Oh! YE COMMONS OF THE METROPOLIS, your virtue has often saved this nation, by the example of your integrity having infused the same generous spirit into the rest of the free electors of *Ireland*; there cannot be a doubt but that you will, with spirit reject the intended address, which is formed to induce you to stamp with your much *honoured* approbation, the present regular system of *oppression* and *corruption*;
a system

a system formed to dissolve all bands of civil society; all ties of mutual support amongst the friends of liberty, and to stifle all sense of honour and spirit of *just resentment*. The present administration look upon men of virtue as their natural enemies, and endeavour to render them mean, base, and unfaithful to each other, that they may not have strength to break the yoke imposed upon them, nor dare to trust one another in any fair and generous design for the support of their common liberty and honour. This, MY COUNTRYMEN, is not *vague* declamation, but *actual* demonstration, founded on uncontroverted facts and avowed principles: Has not the *apostate Ely* been detached from Mr. *Ponsonby* who supported him in the days of penury and want? Has not *Lord Shannon* been weaned from his paternal alliance, and induced to bow his neck to that Viceroy who treated him and his *honoured* father-in-law with contempt and ridicule?

REFLECT, *thou worthy Lord Mayor*, on the conduct of a *Reynolds* and a *Forbes*; learn, from their misconduct, to let your own *honest* heart direct your conduct in this momentous affair; you have the glorious example of the patriotic BECKFORD to go by; you have every thing that honest men hold dear, to induce you to resist the intended *insult*; you have a character

unspotted,

unspotted, and a name *unsullied* in the city annals; let not the low chicanery of court craft induce you to suffer the intended address to receive a second reading; this is a critical period for you to establish the growing love of your *fellows citizens*; such an opportunity of proving yourself above any mean or corrupt act may not occur during the remainder of your Mayoralty.

BRUTUS hopes he will not live to see the day when the electors of *Ireland* tamely submit to every act of oppression, whilst HE lives, he will live free, unpensioned, and unplaced; HE will labour for the good of his country, and use his utmost abilities to inculcate and support that love of virtue and liberty which has been the foundation of all his writings; HE is not afraid of the frowns of the great, nor will he ever court popularity at the expence of truth. He acknowledges himself unequal to the task of answering the various misrepresentations of *hireling* scribblers, not from want of inclination to assert the cause of truth, or abilities (for very moderate abilities are able to do it) to expose the fallacy of their arguments, but his other *avocations*, and non-residence in *Dublin* deprives him of time. He now concludes with his most fervent prayer, that you, the *respected* Lord Mayor, the *worthy* Board of Aldermen, and the *loyal* Commons of this metropolis, will prove a band
of

of brothers, and recollect, that you are the protectors of unborn ages, whose birthrights depend on your virtue: It is, in a great measure, to be determined by you, whether the rising generation shall be born heirs to liberty, or hereditary slaves to tyranny.

*“Certe ego libertatem, quæ mihi a parente meo
“tradita est, experiar; verum id frustra an ob
“rem faciam, in vestra manu situm est, QUIRI-
“TES.”*

“For my part, I am resolved strenuously to
“contend for the liberty handed down to me
“by my ancestors; but whether I shall do it
“effectually or not, depends on you, my
“COUNTRYMEN.”

BRUTUS.

LETTER

L E T T E R XL.

To the CONDUCTORS of the HIBERNIAN
JOURNAL.

*But happy they! the happiest of their kind!
Whom gentler stars unite, and in one fate
Their hearts, their fortunes, and their beings
blend.*

*Thought meeting thought, and will preventing
will,*

*With boundless confidence, for nought but love
Can answer love, and render bliss secure.*

THOMSON.

OMNIA VINCET AMOR.

GENTLEMEN,

Dec. 16, 1772.

WHEN you receive this, and see *Humbrey Search* subscribed as usual, you will expect a dish of politics. No such thing. This letter is not, properly speaking, to you, but to the ladies in general.—I will not always be tied to the cabinet, but sometimes amuse myself abroad with what is lively, like other people. Besides I want to be introduced to our country-women, and affairs of government would never gain me an agreeable reception.

I have

I have some right to their acquaintance, having suffered much in my youth, for *love*. My old heart is yet warmed by its delightful influence, and I take pleasure in prattling about it, just as an old soldier does about battles and sieges, when past the use of arms. *Love* and *marriage* then, shall be my subject, and I expect yet to be a favourite. I will not always be grave; but hope their good taste will lead them now and then to read a paper on liberty, and catch the generous flame, like the famed ladies of antiquity; to whose heroism, and their infusing the same noble ardour into their lovers and husbands, their countries owed their safety. Love and liberty are likewise nearly allied; first cousins at least; for there can be no true love, without liberty of choice. Therefore, my dear fair ones, take an old fellow's advice, who can mean nothing but your good. Esteem none but men of free and gallant spirits; none else are fit to protect, or deserve your love: Admit none to your hearts, but men of worth. By this you will reform our manners, and make the men patriots, in spite of bribery and corruption; for, if the ladies give their hands to none but the friends to liberty and their country, we shall soon have a majority on our side, in the House of Commons. I will not answer for the Lords; as the Bishops are immoveable. Well, what shall *threescore* say about love, but only what you

you may have heard before ? That is a kind of small-pox, which every one who has not had it, is to expect.—Like death, sooner or later, it knocks at the door of every one's heart.—Some it kills,—makes mad others,—one miserable, another happy. It is indeed a dangerous guest, sometimes, and should be admitted with caution.—Still it is the universal law of nature, which links all together, and keeps the wheel of life going round.—The *Frenchman* plays with it, without feeling, and keeps his stomach. It sets the *Scotchman* to his bagpipes, and singing pastorals.—The *Irishman* to swearing and cutting of throats.—The *Englishman* it makes dull ; and, strange to tell, loses his appetite, and sometimes drowns or hangs himself. In short, this love is every thing ; it is misery, it is happiness ; it is death, it is life,—with it, we are every thing ; without it, nothing. Were I but thirty years younger (it was then the fashion) I would have brought in flames, darts, angels, sun, moon and stars, to embellish my subject ;—aye, and with great propriety too ; for, like the sun, some of the *fair* shine on all alike, and are a common benefit. But you must own, what I have said is pretty well for old *Humphrey*. However, lest you should not think it grave enough for his years, he will try to be serious, and bestow the highest encomia on a theme so interesting. What then but *love* gave birth to nature,

ture, and all its benevolent wonders? It is the bond of marriage and friendship;—the foundation of families, and all the connections dear, of *father, son and brother*;—the sweet solace of our sorrows, the increaser of our joys. It polishes our manners, refines our taste, sweetens our tempers, enlarges the mind, and strengthens every social disposition. — Being seated in the heart, it is pleasing to see through what different channels it flows, either in streams of conjugal and parental tenderness, of sincere and constant friendship and affection to relations, or in general good will to a neighbourhood; piety to our country, and generous wishes of happiness to the whole creation; till it ends in affectionate admiration of the *first beauty*,—*him first, him last*,—who alone can fill the *vastness* of human desire. Let this suffice to shew the dignity of my subject;—which we must now apply to real life.—It is pleasing to observe, that nature has placed the two sexes designed for the strictest union, yet at the greatest distance from one another; and that by intervention of certain delicate, agreeable sensations, intimately wrought into the constitution of each, the one inspired with awe and respect, arising from the supposed virtue and dignity of the other; and these sentiments forbid the rash, unhallowed approach, which beauty would seem to solicit.—The other maintain their distance by a
graceful

graceful modesty, a decent pride, and inward consciousness of worth. Hence, an union of hearts is formed, upon the faith of friendship and esteem, sweetened and refined by the soft endearments of a tender passion. What then does nature intend, by thus arraying the passion of love, with all that profusion of agreeable sentiments? Does she only mean to recommend sensual gratification? No,—she plainly points out to us, respect, modesty, mutual tenderness and faith. All this beauteous assemblage, enters into the idea of chastity, which cannot be infringed, without transgressing the very law of our natures, and breaking in upon the modesty and ingenuity of our minds.

WHILE we thus think honourably of love (which is better felt than described) the point is, how shall the fair be made happy by it? *Beauty* (that short-lived tyranny) secure of conquests and admiration, almost disdains the question; but, had she been acquainted with experience, it would have told her, that the handsomest women are not, generally speaking, the happiest. Surrounded by temptations, and empty flatterers, they often fall a prey to their wiles. Their minds are neglected; and when the deceitful bloom is faded, their *all* may be said to have left them. The many sacrifices this dangerous gift has occasioned, are too full a proof
of

of what is asserted. Strangers to that good sense and discretion, that gentleness and good humour, which alone can hold the heart, men of wisdom and discernment are seldom ensnared by them; the young, or old coxcomb, generally falling to their lot. To acquire these engaging, permanent qualities, and to give your hearts to none but men of worth, where mutual affection crowns the choice, under the approbation of affectionate parents; this is the way to be made happy by love, in its purest refinements. It will, in this case, be more a *sentiment* than a *passion*, and will lead you in the bands of sweetest society, from the temple of Hymen to that of Virtue, and from thence to that of death itself, in pleasing hope and triumph. But, in this choice, you cannot be too circumspect. To err in marriage is to err for life. Reason, as well as passion, must be called in to your aid. To be in easy circumstances, or at least a competency, is absolutely necessary to the happiness of this state. Ages, nearly the same, a likeness of tastes, and a religion not materially different, are most desirable circumstances. I need hardly observe, that to marry without a love founded on virtue and confidence, and the effect of a free choice, is but legal prostitution; for, as the poet says,

“ Nought

“ Nought will avail the specious name of
“ wife ;

“ A maid so wedded, is a w— for life.”

MARRIAGE ought to be the highest state of affection and rational pleasure. This can never be the case, without mutual esteem, and that heart-ennobling sollicitude for one another's welfare, that will make a desire to please run through every part of their behaviour. By this the sorrows of life will be lessened ; its joys increased. Resignation will become easy, and fortitude only exerted, by the sympathy and protection of such a companion. I will answer for happiness, where honour, love, condescension and good humour preside. I would not only advise you to marry a man of sense, but feeling ; though it should (as Mrs. Sullen says in the play) “ make the chains rattle a little.” The cloud will soon leave his brow, and the sun-shine of a tender heart will afterwards make you amends. But an unfeeling husband is apt to fall into, what is called, the *calm*, *pick-tooth* state, from which the transition is easy to indifference. The *sour* and *sottish* soon follow, and the *brute* at last, herds abroad with his kind. The wife of a rake, likewise, will soon see the folly of her choice. Her happiness will be precarious, and she will live in perpetual alarms. Did the fair despise the insignificant tribe of
fluttering

fluttering fops, who buzz about them, but to *sting*; were the coxcomb and debauchee, who boast of favours they never received, (to the ruin of female reputation, and peace of mind) treated with that neglect and scorn they deserve; were they avoided in public, and denied admittance to all public assemblies; were they looked on with contempt by men of sense, and ladies of unblemished honour, a reformation would soon take place, and civilize them into men. But, at present, it cannot be denied, that these destroyers of *God's fair creation*, even him who has been the blaster of virgin innocence, and boasts of it, is often received and caressed, when he ought to be avoided, as the pestilence itself: His very breath sheds contagion. *Swift's* celebrated *Stella* sets a fine example of this. The story is so well known, I shall not relate it.

THE fate of the fair sex, in their loss of virtue, is peculiarly unhappy and severe. There is an absurdity and tyranny in custom, in this matter. The treacherous *deceiver*, and not the helpless *deceived female*, should be the object of universal abhorrence. The unmanly, base, ravager, who, under the mask of love, the promise of marriage, or, perhaps a sham marriage, ruins unsuspecting generosity of heart, and unbounded confidence, is surely the worst
of

of aggressors ; and, in point of guilt, there can be no comparison : Yet, such is the wicked way of the world, that neither his fame, nor marrying to advantage, are materially affected by such villainy ; while the poor deluded victim is cut off from society, and all its virtuous enjoyments. Is there either sense or reason in this ? In a moral estimate, and in the eye of heaven, this destroyer of *God's fair creation*, is most guilty ; and will, no doubt, meet with the severest punishment. Did the female world, in vindication of the rights and honour of their sex, universally shun the company of all such monsters, and make it a condition in every engagement, not to be expected, if *such* and *such* persons were to be present, it would have the most desirable effects ; it might, perhaps, induce some to reflect soberly on their conduct, and repair, by marriage (as much as possible) the mischief they had done, or else throw them into the lower ranks of life. Acting thus with spirit, would be a pride worthy of them. True dignity, respect, and affection, would attend such a behaviour. Think but of the feelings and state of mind of a woman of any delicacy, that has been seduced in an unguarded hour, through confidence and strength of affection, to a *savage*, vowing by the most solemn oaths, immediate marriage and everlasting fidelity ; yet soon after left unguarded, a prey to every new comer,

comer, to want, or to vice, and all the variety
 of wretchedness that must attend such a situa-
 tion: Forsaken of her friends and the world,
 deprived even of parental tenderness and pro-
 tection, can almost any human being stand more
 in need of comfort and support? Should she
 not at once be snatched from the jaws of ruin?
 Deeply penitent for her transgression, she pants,
 perhaps, for a place of refuge; to be restored
 to civil life, and to tread again in the safe and
 pleasant paths of virtue, in which it is more than
 probable, that the wisdom of experience will
 keep her steady. But instead of the healing
 balm of sympathy, or a friendly shelter from
 the storms of life, she is abandoned to the accu-
 mulated evils of *want* or *prostitution*. How
 many have been thrust into the deepest scenes
 of guilt and woe, by being thus inhumanly
 treated? who, if protected, instead of being
 instruments of vice, might have become useful
 members of society.—What is there to be com-
 pared to the value of an immortal spirit, or the
 saving it from perdition? I scruple not to af-
 firm that those who refuse protection and advice
 in such instances (whose more immediate duty
 it may be) but drive them forlorn into the
 world, and to despair, by which they will be-
 come the prey of every wicked ravager; will
 be partakers in their subsequent guilt, and pu-
 nished accordingly. Let not such presume to

say "forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that have trespassed against us," for this would be mocking *the Being* that *made them*. Oh! ye guardians, friends, parents! — nay, acquaintance of such! rise above false narrow prejudices! How can ye enjoy a moment's peace of mind (when in your power to give relief) till you receive the forlorn penitent, in the spirit of meekness, and give her another chance for happiness, here and hereafter. In this divine employment, you have the example and command of *God himself*. Your acting otherwise, is contributing your part to vice and misery; is contrary to the mild genius of religion, which is gentle and easy to be entreated, thinking no evil, and hoping all things. It doth ill become guilty offending mortals to assume the prerogative of the *Almighty* himself, in judging and punishing, when, perhaps, they themselves stand in need of great forbearance, for many transgressions. To *err*, is *human*; to *forgive*, *divine*. We should ever esteem it our highest glory to banish misery from amongst the works of God. To abandon a person, desirous of becoming virtuous, is to prevent the increase of moral worth, which is the noblest thing in the creation. The *Asylum*, in this city, is a most useful and noble institution, and will, no doubt, meet with a suitable support. But what I have chiefly aimed at is, to prevent unhappy females

females from repeated guilt, after their first transgression. This comes recommended to us by the dearest considerations; and I am fully persuaded, did we but know the histories of such as have fallen victims to false men, or their motives to compliance, we should find that vicious inclinations were seldom the cause; and that when they became sensible of their dreadful situation, had almost any sort of countenance and protection been offered them, they would have joyfully returned to their duty. Nor is it unreasonable to suppose, that a woman thus immediately restored, before her sense of shame, of honour, or delicacy be lost, may not only become regular and decent in her behaviour, but eminently virtuous. May we not say farther, that such a person, from a sense of gratitude, might make a more agreeable affectionate wife, than many who have preserved their virtue, who, on that very account, have taken other liberties, and made men unhappy, though their chastity was clear. Still there is nothing like *unsullied honour*, where the other ingredients of happiness are joined to it. But the good heart will draw a veil over the failings of such as have been artfully deceived, or fallen through unsuspecting generosity of heart. By the expensive sacrifices that have been made to the false custom and opinion of the world in this matter, one would almost be tempted to think

that inhumanity was a branch of virtue, or that it was necessary to our reputation or honour, to plunge the unfortunate into the deeper scenes of guilt and suffering.

If it be said, that such sympathy as I have recommended, would be an encouragement to vice, I answer it would lessen and prevent it, by taking numbers from the broad road to destruction. After the indulgence now contended for, do they not stand exposed to the displeasure of heaven, and their own tormenting reflections? They will, besides, be but in a barely *tolerated situation* in life; and, as it were *buddled up in the world*. The *crown of glory* is for ever fallen from their head. No tears can restore the *pure white of innocence*. Once *lost*, it never can be *found*. Like time past, it is never to be recalled; nor can they ever be placed in their *former happy condition*. *In vain you look to what you were before, &c.* One would think all this is more than a generous mind would wish to be the case. Be ever on your guard, then, ye fair! especially such in whom nature has been lavish of her charms. Trust us not;—we have ten thousand times betrayed you, and will again, when in our power.

“ When

“ When a man talks of love, with caution

“ hear him ;

“ But, if he swears, he'll certainly deceive

“ you.”

Should he offer the least rudeness, in *word or deed, fly that moment*, as you would from the *pestilence itself*. *The woman that deliberates is lost*. To *hesitate*, is guilt. There are, no doubt, at this very hour, many wretched females, exposed to the rudest insults, who abhor their situation, and earnestly long to return to virtue, and to their friends ; languishing under broken vows and hearts. Do not the tender feelings of humanity, and the finer movements of the mind, plead strongly in their favour ? Attend then, to the language of nature, instead of custom and fashion. Are we so perfect, that *no place shall be found with us for repentance, tho' sought with tears* ? Let none pretend to this ; but act the *forgiving, God-like* part, in which they will be applauded by their own hearts, and every good being in the universe. I hope the great importance of the subject will be my apology for saying so much. The remaining observations on *love and marriage* shall be given in another letter. I shall conclude with Dr. *Browne's* elegant invocation to repentance, as being most suitable to the fair, for whom I have been pleading, viz.

I 3

Come,

Come, fair repentance, from the skies,
 O; sainted maid! with upcast eyes!
 Descend in thy celestial shroud,
 Vested in a weeping cloud!
 Holy Guide! descend and bring
 Mercy from th' eternal King!
 To her soul your beams impart,
 And whisper comfort to her heart,
 See, the signs of grace appear!—
 See the soft relenting tear
 Trickling, at sweet Mercy's call!—
 Catch it, Angels, ere it fall!—

In another place.

Wake my lyre!—Can pity sleep,
 When Heav'n is mov'd, and Angels weep?
 Flow, ye melting numbers, flow,
 Till she feels that guilt is wee!—

Stern he bends him o'er his lyre;
 And, whilst the doom of guilt he sings,
 Shakes horror from the tortured strings!—

The monthly reviewers say, “we almost
 tremble while we read the last line.” I do not
 wonder at it.

HUMPHREY SEARCH.

LETTER

L E T T E R XLI.

To the CONDUCTORS of the HIBERNIAN
JOURNAL.

*'Tis not the coarser tie of human laws,
Unnatural oft, and foreign to the mind,
That binds their peace, but harmony itself,
Alluring all their passions into love.*

THOMSON.

A CELEBRATED writer has observed, that upon every stage the universal agent is love; by whose power all good or evil is distributed. To bring a lover, a lady, and a rival, into the fable; to entangle them in contradictory obligations; perplex them with oppositions of interests; and harrafs them with violence of desires, inconsistent with each other; to make them meet in rapture, and part in agony; to fill their mouths with hyperbolical joy, and outrageous sorrow; to distress them, as nothing human ever was distressed; to deliver them, as nothing human ever was delivered—is the business of a modern dramatist. There is too much truth in these remarks. The *unpleasing* and *marvellous* run through many *dramatic pieces*, and *novels*:—*Virtue* is generally distressed,

and vice triumphant. One would think, that were merit placed in more fortunate circumstances, and properly rewarded; and vice represented as despised, or leading to misery, it would have a better tendency to engage readers to the practice of what is worthy and becoming. A good mind will delight in scenes of bliss, and to see the constancy, and suffering of virtuous lovers rewarded. When such are linked together in the sweet bonds of union for life, pointing out to them the way to lasting happiness, must ever be of the utmost importance.

To please, and to be pleased, is the great art of love. Matrimonial disputes are generally about trifles; but nothing should be reckoned a trifle, which tends to weaken affection. Avoid contradictions; and seem mildly to acquiesce, even when you are giving your reasons to the contrary. Meekness, and a sweet compliance, seldom miss of their ends.—Should the man of your choice be angry or displeased, that will be the time to call forth your prudence, and be cloathed with patience and good humour. This will give you a double advantage over him, and you will, at last, surely conquer. Interfere not in his favourite amusements; but strive to make home so agreeable to him, that these shall be neglected for it. This will be more safe and pleasant than a thousand arguments;
and

and will, when he comes to reflect, (if he be a man of sense) the more endear you to him, and enlarge your empire in his heart. Be assured, this is a more certain test of affection, than all those little teizing anxieties, and fears when absent, which to many have proved disgusting. Pray you, avoid all such common place things; and gentleness and discretion will secure your felicity. An happy marriage is the spring of every bliss. A man who lives chearfully in his family; who loves, and is beloved by his wife; who sees his children with the fondness and care of a parent; who is attentive to the morals of his servants; who, by a just œconomy, gives ease and plenty; and is happy, because he sees all around him so;—beholds a well regulated state in his own house, of which he himself is head. You will always find such a man the same you left him. An easy chearfulness makes glad his habitation. The equanimity and affection of his wife crown all. The hospitality of his board is embellished, and rendered truly agreeable, by the ease and affability of her deportment. The tables of the great seldom afford an entertainment so pleasing; where the hearts, as well as dishes, are often disguised. In a state where so much tenderness and condescension are expected from the fair, they should inspire, on the other side, the most generous returns of faith, constancy, and unfeign-

ed regard. The lover should never be lost in the husband. It is no less his duty than his glory, to protect and make her happy. It has been observed, that mere civility to a wife, is coldness. Mere complaisance is, indeed, but indifference. To her a mere expressive kindness should add grace to every word, and a peculiar tenderness diffuse itself over every action. Woman is left feeble and defenceless by nature: On man she must rely for support. He receives her, for the most part, from the hands of those under whose wings she had, till that time, been safe and happy; from those whose goodness he promised to supply, and whose indulgence he hath promised to imitate. He receives her from the bosom of parental tenderness, to cherish her in his own; and is therefore bound, by every generous motive, to promote her happiness. In lower life, the more immediate duties are love, good humour, industry, frugality and cleanliness. Content and competence generally follow these.

To acquire a taste for domestic pleasures, should be particularly recommended to those in high stations. They are rational and becoming. Where children cement the happy union, they will find at home the most agreeable amusement: Pleasure and duty will go hand in hand: Their fondness, their little innocent prattle and follies,

follies, will repay them in a thousand instances. But, should this not be the case, you have still the man of your heart for your friend and companion; and where a good taste is acquired, it will prove a source of many pleasures, from which those who want it are excluded. The virtuous deeds and offices of life will give you the noblest employment, in lessening misery, and relieving the sorrowful heart. The pleasures and amusements of life, are likewise in your power. You may experience the delights of friendship, and enjoy the most agreeable intercourse with the polite and ingenious; the refined, instructive pleasure of reading the wisdom of ages, and the finest productions of genius lie open to you. These will enrich and enlarge the mind, and give it an inexhaustible fund of pleasing images and reflections. Did you add to these, an improvement in the fine arts, they would tie you to home felicity, and happily lead to the highest finishings of virtue, and elegance of manners. Such a combination of accomplishments would render the influence of the fair universal. Moderate pleasures and amusements are their birthrights; but to make them the business of life, or to be solely engaged by them is ridiculous. It may be said, "there is no harm in such things;" but, if they give the mind a disrelish for farther enjoyments, and take it from the more useful employments

ployments of life ; if they indispose it for kind offices, and shut the ear to the voice of distress, they then become truly pernicious. It is too plain, that in the present age, shew and vanity have a numerous train of votaries. A sordid inclination to gaming, and the false taste for never-ceasing rounds of unmeaning visits, and luxurious entertainments, are evidently gaining ground, to the overthrow of every thing excellent and rational in society. The unbounded expence attending such things, is, no doubt, the cause why marriages are less frequent than formerly ; and that vice and dissipation, of the most offensive kinds, are encreasing. The virtuous members of the community will of course be lessened, and marriage become unfashionable. Your charms, though they must attract and appear lovely, yet the unknown expence that must attend the possession of them, must *give us pause*. Thus, ladies, you see, how extensive your influence, what happiness or mischief you can bestow, or bring on society. The cause of liberty herself may be promoted by it. We likewise look to you for reformation. By graceful modesty, and the awful dignity of your virtue, we expect to see the libertine reclaimed and civilized. By the amiable purity and simplicity of your manners, we hope to see luxury and extravagance restrained ; and gaming, that poison of the mind, which corrodes
the

the very heart, far banished : To see an end put to empty shew and vanity, and their expensive train of followers. By pride and vanity, selfishness is promoted ; they are destructive of almost every generous sentiment, as well as of fame and fortune. In a word, by your steadiness to virtue and liberty, we look to see marriage restored to all its ancient honours and preferments ;—for the happy reign of domestic life, in all its mild majesty and beauty, with its fair attendants—truth and constancy ; unblemished honour and confidence ; chearfulness and condescension ; love and harmony ; order, and a well-timed œconomy : Where these reside, *sweet contentment* and *happiness* will likewise be constant guests. The men will then think it their highest honour and felicity to be admitted into such scenes of bliss and tranquility. Young gentlemen, from being debauched rakes, and a disgrace to their families and country, will, by your means, be metamorphosed into rational creatures, sincere friends and lovers. The unprotected, helpless fair, will be snatched from temptation and ruin. Houses of the most offensive dissipation and obscenity, will be no more ; and a numerous, virtuous offspring will prove a blessing to yourselves, and to the public.—The *parson* may preach, and the *moralist* give precepts, but it is you only can stop the career of the vices I have mentioned, From
your

your persuasive lips, these doctrines will prove effectual; when recommended by the eloquence of your example. In such a work, you will experience a joy and satisfaction, that will remain with you, when all other pleasures, like false friends, will forsake you. The distinctions alone which virtue gives, will go with you to the other world, and there be your never-fading ornament of glory. I would here recommend it to the men, to associate chiefly with ladies of improved understandings, and unfulled reputations; and always to approach such with that deference and respect to which they are entitled. It has been said, that the tea-table is the best school of politeness; and I will add, that nothing polishes a man more, than social converse with the fair, where sense and modesty, ease and dignity preside. The restraints which decency and good manners impose upon him, will, at last, bring him to a settled habit of politeness and good breeding. The importance of the subject has led me into many particulars, which I hope may be of general use. You see dignity of deportment, constancy, generosity of affection, and an easy chearfulness, are the peculiar excellencies of men; formed for publick life, which requires wisdom, strength of mind, and virtuous activity. But decency and grace, as consisting in a certain elegant propriety and delicacy of manner, sweetness and modesty, gentleness

gentleness and tenderness, belong to her, in whom nature has drawn her finest strokes. These will ever charm the heart. They heighten beauty, or more than compensate for the want of it. *Grace* indeed is a thing not to be described. It transforms almost every thing, into the lovely and agreeable. It is better conceived, than expressed:—A sort of magic, that captivates without beauty; gives a bewitching charm to the carriage, face and person,—importance to trifles, enhances beauty, which, without it, is a dead picture; sets off even virtue herself, the fairest of all forms; and the want of it throws a shade over the finest accomplishments. Who would not be ambitious to acquire this most attracting female excellence? Beauty, when recommended by virtue, and adorned by grace and elegance of manners, gives perhaps the highest idea we can form of human nature. Had I been addressing the *English* ladies, instead of these fine-spun delicate sentiments, more than half of my paper would have been taken up on jealousy and adultery; the female *bucks* in that kingdom having declared war against decency, shake the very throne of modesty itself. But our *Hibernian* fair, to their high honour, have, in general, maintained their loyalty to chastity, and to their husbands. The *green-eyed monster* is seldom seen amongst us. And as for adultery, I trust the bare mention

tion of it is enough to raise a constant abhorrence of it in your breasts. The wise and virtuous *Spartans*, had not a law against it, taking it for granted, that no such *monster* should ever appear amongst them.—And now, my dear country-women, who rival all other nations in beauty and true affection; who have more censure among you; and less vice than the ladies of *Great-Britain*, will not you, after all this, be very good, and reform every thing your real friend *Humphrey* has pointed out? You will then hear of nothing but husbands and marriages; and your reign of power and love will commence. You see I have said nothing about that same frightful, suspected word *prerogative*, which I would not have stretched, either in marriage or government. I quite forgot to say something about the word, *obey*; but the priest, I hope, will soon put you in mind of it. Will not you thank me for this, and own I am a *fine old dad*, who have said so much on love and marriage, at my years? You are famed through the world for modesty, and want neither reputation nor any other watch as centinels on your virtue. Preserve carefully this *national honour*. I beg you will keep this letter, and read it now and then, especially before and after marriage. If you follow my advice, like *other great men*, I *pledge myself*, that you will be happy wives, and probably soon mothers; for we have no
less

less than *Congreve's* authority, "that the *parson* is the forerunner of the *midwife*." As this may be the case, I may hereafter say something about managing the sweet *little innocents*, the pretty *little masters*, and dear *little Sappho's*; and will conclude, by sending you your favourite Lord *Chesterfield's* advice, to which I am sure you will pay great respect.

Asses milk half a pint, take at seven or before;

Then sleep for an hour or two, and no more.

At nine stretch your arms, and oh! think,
when alone,

There's no pleasure in bed.—*Mary*, bring me
my gown:

Slip on that ere you rise; let your caution be
such;

Keep all cold from your breast, there's already
too much.

Your pinnars set right, your twitcher ty'd on,

Your prayers at an end, and your breakfast
quite done,

Retire to some author, improving and gay,

And, with sense like your own, set your mind
for the day.

At twelve you may walk; for at this time
o' the year,

The sun, like your wit, is as mild as 'tis clear.

But

But mark in the meadows the ruin of time ;
Take the hint, and let life be improv'd in its
prime.

Return not in haste, nor of dressing take heed,
For beauty like yours, no assistance can need.
With an appetite, thus, down to dinner you'll
sit,

Where the chief of the feast, is the flow of
your wit :

Let this be indulg'd, and let laughter go round,
As it pleases your mind, to your health 'twill
redound.

After dinner, two glasses, at least I approve ;
Name the first to the king, and the last to your
love.

Thus chearful, with wisdom, with innocence
gay,

And calm with your joys, gently glide thro'
the day.

The dews of the evening most carefully shun,
They're the tears of the sky, for the loss of
the fun.

Then in chat, or at play, with a dance or a
song,

Let the night, like the day, pass with pleasure
along.

All

All cares but of love, banish far from your
mind,
And those you may end, when you please to
prove kind.

I am, Ladies,

And Gentlemen of the Committee,

Your most obedient humble servant,

HUMPHREY SEARCH.

LETTER.

L E T T E R XLII.

TO THE CITIZENS OF DUBLIN.

Thou on thy foes with speed and vigour fly,
 And ev'ry bold Offender, let him die ;
 Stay not till he thy pardon may implore,
 Or if he does, let that incense thee more ;
 It shews a Coward, and a Coward's blow
 Deserves the utmost that thy rage can do ;
 In truths like these, BRUTUS would Freemen
 train,
 Thus subjects wise their Liberties maintain.

YE PATRONS OF LIBERTY!

BRUTUS congratulates you on the glorious spirit that is now emerging, like the Sun from behind a thick cloud. At length the Board of Aldermen have behaved like men, who feel the flame of liberty glowing in their breasts; long, too long, had they shut the doors of their *conclave*, against the voice of truth and expiring *liberty*. They begin now to feel the effects of their own supineness, and seem determined to regain the long lost confidence of their fellow-citizens, by supporting your rights and liberties, and encouraging the *virtuous* part of the *Irish* House of Commons, to persevere in the

the path of virtue, honour and truth, by declaring their approbation of the conduct of particular members thereof. BRUTUS hopes those days are passed, when the idea of venality was invariably annexed to the characteristic of a *Dublin Alderman*. The result of the last Quarter Assembly, gives us pleasing hopes of realizing the truth of these observations. The *Aldermen* voted an address of thanks to be given to their worthy fellow-citizen Sir *Edward Newenham*, for his conduct as a magistrate, and as Collector of the Revenue for the county of *Dublin*. Not an Alderman objected to the address, only Alderman *Benjamin Geale*, Alderman *William Forbes*, (formerly candidates for your favour) and Alderman *George Faulkner*, by their sullen silence and hemming, when the question was put, shewed how they would have acted, had they been supported. The concurrence of the *Commons* was then desired, the loyal *Commons* with one voice agreed to compliment that man, who lost his private fortune in their cause. And then with brotherly love, they requested the *Aldermen* to agree that the address should be presented in a Gold Box of twenty guineas value. On this point the board divided, and the *Aldermen* present, voted as follows.

For

For granting the Box. 8.

Ald. ROBERT KING, *Father of the City.*

— HANS BAILIE.

— SIR PAT. HAMILTON.

— THOMAS EMERSON.

— HENRY HART.

— SIR ANTHONY KING.

— GEORGE WRIGHTSON.

— SIR THOMAS BLACKALL.

Against granting the Box. 9.

Ald. Benjamin Geale.

— Philip Crampton.

— William Forbes.

— George Faulkner.

— Francis Fetherston.

— Edward Sankey.

— Willoughby Lightburne.

— Patrick Boyd.

— Joseph Lynham.

Jacet

Hic



Hunt

Alderman

Alderman *Hunt* at first declared that he did not intend to vote on that question, and then placed himself at the lower end of the table; but when he found that the question was likely to depend on a *single* vote, he declared he would vote for the granting of the box. After some arguments, it was declared contrary to rule, to suffer any member to vote, when he said that he would remain *neuter*. BRUTUS, as a friend to Alderman *Hunt*, with whom he has drank many bottles, and been very happy in his company, would advise him to be more steady hereafter, and not ashamed to give his vote, even if he was single, according as his conscience directs. And should the Alderman again resign his gown, he would advise him never to take it back again.

You see by the above division, (which, BRUTUS is assured, is true; if not, he will thankfully acknowledge his error, upon being better informed) that the whole board cannot be answerable for the timidity of the rest. You there behold the names of eight *independent Aldermen*, who neither feared the frowns or courted the smiles of power. Though these *eight* protectors and defenders of *your* rights and liberties deserve lasting honour, yet BRUTUS allows some merit to all the rest, except the *three dumb courtiers*. And here, thou, at pre-
sent

sent, much respected Lord-Mayor, attend to the advice of a *friend*. Beware how you are drawn off from the line of your duty, by the delusive arts of *court sycophants*. No Lord-Mayor, or Sheriffs, for these many years past, presided over this city at a juncture, more pregnant with the extremes of *honour* or *dishonour*. Occurrences will (in all probability) happen in the time of your *magistracy*, which will give you an opportunity of proving yourselves supporters of liberty, or abettors of tyranny. Should nature so revert against itself, that Alderman FRENCH should betray the dignity of his station, the loss of the five hundred pounds, (which the Commons will certainly withhold upon just grounds) is but a trifling loss, when compared to the change of that *idea*, which the citizens of *Dublin* have HITHERTO annexed to the name of FRENCH.

INNUNERABLE obligations you owe, *oh! ye electors of Dublin*, to that kind fortune, which saved you from being MISREPRESENTED in parliament, by either *Alderman Benjamin Geale*, or *Alderman William Forbes*, for a mean submission to the smiles of a court, is *unalienable* from *their* principles. They have in many instances given you an undeniable proof of the parts they would have acted, in the grand council of
the

the nation, had they been elected to that important trust. You are now in possession of the *criterion* of their principles, which the short time between this and the next general election cannot eradicate from your mind. That good old *faithless* decypherer of *Cadenus* and *Vanessa*, that constant correspondent to *himself*, who writes to Princes and dictates their answers, to form *paragraphs* in his own *legible* journal, who loves the principles of a whig, and detests those of a tory; the worthy Alderman *George Faulkner* had too much sense to pay a compliment to any man, that was looked upon as disaffected to Lord *Townshend*. For this VIRTUOUS Alderman never gave a vote, that could offend the delicate ears of a Viceroy. View the *consistency* of the conduct of these *three Aldermen*! At one Quarter-Assembly, they interceded with, begged and cajoled part of the Commons to give the freedom of this City in a Gold Box to the Dutch Ambassador MYNHEER *Joseph Yorke*, who receives near two thousand pounds, yearly, out of *Ireland*, but never spends a shilling in it. Nor can this Ambassador be charged with supporting the interest of *Ireland* in the *British* parliament. At the succeeding Quarter-Assembly, these same *Aldermen*, refused a Gold Box to a fellow-citizen, who was plundered of his private property, on account of his supporting in parliament, the interest and trade of your city,

and who, except through a principle of love and justice, had no peculiar parliamentary tie to you. But you could not expect to wash the *Æthiopian* white, nor can the *Leopard* change its skin.

THERE is now a pleasing prospect of an increase to the friends of liberty at the Aldermanic board; a few more patrons of virtue would terrify the proudest Viceroys, into acts that would merit the thanks of the corporate body of this city. To the LOYAL COMMONS the greatest credit is due, their steadiness set the example to others; the glorious flame is gone forth, and *Dublin* will vie with *London* in support of liberty. I mentioned in a former letter, that these kingdoms can never be undone but by a parliament, therefore, when the *Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs* and *Commons* of this metropolis, find the *Irish* parliament so lost to all sense of its own dignity, as to flatter corruption, approve of improper taxation, or attempt any act repugnant to the fundamental principles of the constitution, they ought to exercise their undoubted right, and assemble at their common hall, and agree to an Address, Petition, or Remonstrance (as the case requires) to his Majesty, setting forth their thoughts on any subject, which they apprehend is of consequence to this kingdom, the Chief Governor,

or

or Governors, for the time being, *must* transmit such Addresses, Petitions, or Remonstrances to the Secretary of State, in order to have them laid before the throne; your *King* will then be more fully and impartially informed of the true state of *Irish* affairs, than he could possibly be, through the false mirror of a PURCHASED PARLIAMENTARY ADDRESS, which, alas! is generally a self-defence of criminality: They first commit the treason, and then sit as judge and juries on themselves. If the Corporation of this metropolis will exert this constitutional and unalienable right, not only this city, but the whole kingdom will receive benefit therefrom, and it will prove a strong incentive to prevent succeeding Viceroys and Parliaments from deviating from the *line* of their duty. If, during the present recess of parliament, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs and Commons, address the new Lord Lieutenant, in an humble, dutiful, and *spirited* form, and therein lay before his Excellency, the true state and impartial situation of our trade and finances, and, as merchants and traders, to declare that the former number of Commissioners were sufficient for the executive part of commercial business, and that this loyal metropolis, ever foremost in affection and duty to the *Brunswick* line, observes, with the greatest concern, that by the numerous creation of new employments, the

representatives of the people are allured from the duty they reciprocally owe their King and country, and that the measures adopted by administration, for these five last years, tend to create a distrust of the people in their representatives, and to raise ideas in their minds, not very honourable to their Prince. BRUTUS apprehends, that if your Magistrates and City Corporation united in such an address, that the issue would prove honourable and advantageous. This, my DEAR AND BELOVED COUNTRYMEN, is no new-fangled doctrine, it is coeval with the constitution. When parliaments commit every kind of treason against the majesty of the PEOPLE, when they debase human nature, by blessing the chains with which they are bound, when they vote falsehood to be truth, and declare that bribery and corruption are constitutional and legal, even when all these things come to pass, this power of yours may restore expiring liberty. What signifies a corrupted conclave of three hundred wretches, when put in competition with a MILLION of Freemen? The House of Commons in a bad cause, is but an atom to the aggregate body of the *Irish* freeholders.

THE excellency of our constitution is infinitely superior to all others: When the presiding Magistrates of *Athens* and *Rome* became
venal

venal and enervated, these mighty republics, once the lords of more than half the globe, fell, never to rise again ! But our constitution is formed on better principles, and on a firmer foundation ; it has withstood a variety of shocks, and, heretofore, made some acquisition to the bulwark of liberty. The very *being* of every state, whether monarchial or republican, depends on the FREEDOM and VIRTUE of the PEOPLE : Consult the faithful and well-wrote history of the *Britannic* constitution, as collected by ACHERLEY, and you will find that all the breaches made in that glorious fabric, have been repaired by the PEOPLE. This constitution, the most excellent in the world, composed of Kings, Lords and Commons, which *form* ought to prevent all jealousies and misunderstandings, between the *King* and *People* : This constitution which had recovered itself out of all the desolations of *ambitious* Peers, *tyrannic* Princes, and *superstitious* High Priests before the *Reformation* ; and since the *Reformation* had withstood the assaults of one *King*, a concealed *Papist*, and of that King's Son, a profest *Papist*, and of a *Papist* Pretender : This constitution, which had cost so much blood and treasure, has been nearly confounded and destroyed by the united treachery of the Parliaments of both kingdoms in the space of five years. Who can reflect on our forlorn situation, without a feel-

ing and sensible concern ! Who could imagine that a *branch* of the *Hanoverian* family, which was elected to the throne of these kingdoms, would trample on the rights of the MIDDLESEX Freeholders, whose glorious *presentment* of the late JAMES Duke of YORK, paved the way for their changing the unkindly soil of *Herrenhausen* for the enamelled verdure of the plains of *Windfor*.

THAT our present most gracious Prince may relieve us in these days of adversity ; that the ensuing parliament may bring criminals to the *block*, and that the Citizens of *Dublin* may act like men, as they have heretofore done, is the hearty wish of

Your affectionate countryman,

O^a. 21. 1772.

BRUTUS.

LETTER.

L E T T E R XLIII.

To the P E O P L E.

*Opinions should be free as air ;
 No man, whate'er his rank, whate'er
 His qualities,—a claim can found,
 That my opinion must be bound,
 And square with his ; such slavish chains
 From foes, the lib'ral soul disdains ;
 Nor can, tho' true to friendship, bend
 To wear them, even from a friend.*

CHURCHILL.

FRIENDS, and COUNTRYMEN,

IN Ireland, where the advantages of a Free Press have been so long experienced, I did not once imagine that a paper in defence of them should have been necessary ; but some late *under-hand applications* and *conferences*, (*well known*) some recent reports, and intended resolutions, have occasioned this letter. The Liberty of the Press is one of the strongest out-works of a free constitution. An *hollow way* through the *heart* of government, that would lead to undermine, or blow it up, cannot be too carefully watched and guarded. It hath been justly observed, that the liberties of a people are no longer safe, than while they are apprehensive of losing them. Times of ima-

ginary security are generally times of the greatest danger. All government has a natural tendency to despotism; therefore an unremitting jealousy should be kept awake over rulers and ministers. Perhaps, even the *virtues* of the Prince ought to be a motive to the vigilance of the subject.—None but evil Kings and Governors will be afraid of having their measures scrutinized by a loyal people; and this, when done in the true spirit of patriotism, with temper, disinterestedness, and wisdom, must ever be attended with happy consequences to the constitution. Its safety and welfare have, sometimes, arisen from evil; for by attempts to infringe it, and stretch the prerogative, its true boundaries have been properly ascertained; just as the objections of Deists against Christianity have brought forth arguments in its favour, which otherwise would never have existed; and those have unalterably established its divine authority. Nothing like the freedom of debate, and of the press, in these matters; they enlarge the human powers, and do honour to the cause that is thus supported. The first act that has any relation to our present subject, is that of *Edward I.* viz. “That none shall report slanderous news, whereby discord may arise, &c. &c.” Were this law of any precision or force, it might be of use against an officious minister, who should foment stories to raise prejudices

judices in the King against the people, as many have done. This very law laid the foundation of the punishments for publishing what are now called *libels*. There were likewise two other acts to this purpose, in the reigns of *Richard II.* and *Philip and Mary*; but the word *Printing* is not used to them. The statutes of *Henry VIII.* and of *Queen Elizabeth*, relate chiefly to such, as by publishing, &c. &c. shall imagine harm to, or the death of the King or Queen, &c. It is observable that our statute book begins with confirming the great charter, in the 9th of *Henry III.* which seems to imply, that said charter and the law of the land, where the latter was not contrary to the former, contained all the laws by which the people, at that time, were bound or punishable. In these laws, the supposed crimes go chiefly on the falshood of the thing alledged or published; but when a person was to be tried on these acts, for false news, tales, &c. his chief endeavour must have been to prove that they were not false; since upon that alone his punishment depended. We then conclude that according to the spirit of the constitution, and where liberty reigns in her full force, there can be no just punishment for publishing *truth*, to whatever part of government or great names it may relate; especially if the freedom and safety of the commonwealth depend on so doing. It must be acknowledged,

that some Attorney Generals have framed charges, and filed informations against individuals, without even an oath to support them. A judicious author says, "That the faces of the subject have been ground by this proceeding. Towards the latter end of *Charles* the first's reign, the patriots of that time seized an occasion to extort from the martyr (to obstinacy and despotism) an act for the abolition of this most oppressive jurisdiction: But by some fatality or other, the method of proceeding, by an Attorney General's information, filed at discretion, without oath (an offspring of the star chamber) was overlooked, and suffered still to remain. The use that is *now* commonly made of it, every body knows. I could, however, quote the authority of Lord Chief Justice *Hale*, against its legality. One dreadful circumstance attending this mode of persecution, is, that as the crown pays no costs of suit, and the Attorney General can file an information for what he pleases, it is in the power of this court officer to harraßs the peace of any man at pleasure; to put him to a grievous expence, without even a trial, or any possibility of redress. Many booksellers and printers have had woful experience of this; and sorry I am to say that some proceedings in the *present reign*, too fully evince the truth of what has been asserted. The spirit of liberty, the sense and patriotism of the people,

people, are the proper balance against this vile remaining rag of the *Stuart despotism*. Were there no other arguments in favour of a *Free Press* but what I have mentioned, it appears almost to be conclusive; and the safety of both liberty and the printer, is promoted by having no name affixed to news paper publications. Nor, indeed, can any just objection or proceedings take place against this, whilst such arbitrary laws subsist, to the disgrace of a free state. I have the opinion of the great Lord Chancellor *Egerton* on my side, who says, "That the writing of any thing quietly, in one's study, and publishing it by the press, can certainly be no actual breach of the peace." I will add, that had the liberty of the press been properly maintained, and the rod seasonably applied to some of our legislators, it would have prevented many pernicious acts and consequences, fatal in their consequences to the governors themselves, as well as to the unhappy subjects who groaned under them. Matters of public concernment are proper objects of public knowledge, and common debate. They should freely be published to the people, their sense taken, and their voice attended to, by every government in earnest for their liberty and welfare. Freedom of speech and writing on public affairs, are the true standard of the state of freedom in the community; I had nearly said, of public virtue.

true ; and may be justly filed the true political barometer. Sometimes, under arbitrary governments, where men have been restrained in this natural privilege, the love of liberty hath proved so powerful, as to prompt them to overturn them ; and not unfrequently, pasquinades, in despotic countries, supply the place of a Free Press.—They have not only made tyrants decent in their depredations, but (like *Felix*) to tremble at their wickedness. Indeed whenever any attempt shall be made to strike at their constitutional freedom, (under the notion of attacking a particular writer or paper, (no matter how despicable :) when, for this dangerous purpose, the thread-bare, worn-out, cant terms are introduced, and adopted ; then should the public jealousy be awakened, and their attention roused. In this we shall act upon revolution principles. These rest on the firm basis of liberty ; but should her faithful attendant, (a *Free Press*) be deemed unnecessary, or hurtful, and dismissed from her service, her interests would be deemed deeply affected ; her safety endangered. The glorious revolution has made us free. We may always continue so, unless we prove traitors to ourselves. I shall not enter into any of the controverted arguments concerning the boundaries of liberty ; but only observe, that the propositions made use of by the curtailers of it, are pressed with difficulties, which,

which, if pursued with precision in their consequences, would leave us little freedom of any sort. The human powers, our excellent constitution, and our sovereign lord the people, all mark us out for, and entitle us to virtuous liberty, in its full extent. There is little difficulty in this matter. Every sensible, good man must know, what a generous freedom in thinking and acting means. We have had some excellent observations on this subject, from *Ventidius*, *Hamden*, *Lucius*, *Posthumus*, *Aristides*, *Sylla*, *Fabricius*, *Juba*, *Cato*, *Hortensius*, *Lewis*, and the very respectable authors of *Barataria*, with several others. The honest merry *Cobler of Copper-alley* is an hearty friend to the cause, and often sings, *By Jove I'll be free*, in his chearful bulk. The writer, under the signature of *Sidney*, has in several papers justly distinguished between liberty and licentiousness; and the doctrine of libels having been thoroughly discussed in the present reign, saves me the trouble of a further explanation. Mr. *Clark's* resolutions, presented to the Guild of Merchants, I shall not paraphrase. I am persuaded that two of them were unfavourable to liberty. The rejection of them by that wise and patriotic body may convince him he was wrong. I doubt not Mr. *Clarke's* being a worthy member of society. If he meant only to rectify abuses, or to prevent the credit and reputation of individuals from
being

being injured by licentious publications, every good man must wish him success; that is, as far as may be consistent with the full privileges of a Free Press. The sense and virtue of the public should ever actively discountenance low, scandalous publications, relating to private persons and families: Nor do I know of any other discouragement that can be effectually applied, consistent with true liberty. The very honourable testimony given by the city to Sir *Edward Newenham*, who had offered so many costly sacrifices to liberty, was truly becoming, and their getting the *Bishop's blessing for a gold box* can do them no harm. The chief design of this letter, being to defend the freedom of the Press, I have but lightly touched these particulars, and return to my subject.— That this bulwark of the constitution has been abused, cannot be denied. What then? Have not the greatest blessings, bestowed by Heaven on guilty mankind, been likewise abused, tho' still indulgently continued to us by the kind, universal Governor? In this, let earthly rulers be followers of him, as dear children. The best things are liable to perversion, in an imperfect state. Better a thousand inconveniencies should happen, and even private scandal be distributed, than touch what is the glory and safety of the constitution. The happiness of a few individuals must never be promoted at the hazard
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of hurting, essentially, the public welfare.— Even the beautiful, divine form of religion herself, has not preserved her from being abused, and dressed out in the most unnatural, gaudy attire; yet still she is intrinsically excellent, and the foundation of our highest hopes and happiness. She is the offspring of Heaven and of Liberty, with which she is unalterably united. What God hath thus joined together, let none presumptuously put asunder. The Freedom of the Press, though sometimes degraded by low, infamous libels, and illiberal attacks on private characters, is still the safety and glory of our constitution; and when the evils occasioned by the abuse of it, are balanced against those that must be the consequence of being deprived of this never-enough-to-be-prized privilege, we shall soon see how insignificant they will appear. When such evils become notorious or hurtful, the common sense and candor of mankind will soon shew a proper contempt to any paper or writer that shall send forth such pestilential blasts. Reason and argument, the weapons of ridicule and a well-pointed satire, with the public discouragement, are the only requisites for rectifying the errors of a Free Press. That it has a direct tendency to encourage defamatory libels, cannot be justly affirmed. Indeed, where there are illiterate, venal, or malicious conductors, this may sometimes be the case.

But

But no writers or conductors of sense and reputation, well descend to mean scurrility, because a printer's name is not to be put to the paper. If such are countenanced, the public are to blame.—There is nothing like arguing from facts; and did the bounds of this letter permit, I could give several instances of what some call—*licentious* writing; or of bolder and freer attacks on ministers and measures in the *English* news-papers) that have the publisher's names printed) than from any of our Free Presses.

THE late unconstitutional attacks of a venal ministry on the *English* printers, who had exposed their measures, were repulsed with great spirit and firmness. The sense of the free and virtuous part of the nation was seen on those occasions; and deserved disgrace and contempt fell on the aggressors. We have strong peculiar reasons for the having a *Free Press* in this country. The situation of an *English* and *Irish* printer is very different. Though such amongst us, as are friends to liberty, are as firm and zealous in the cause as the *English* patriots, yet in point of strength and in numbers we are much inferior. We are a mixed people (the majority catholics) differing greatly in our political notions and attachments; and true constitutional freedom but little understood or attended to by many.

many. Thus situated, it is well for an *Irish* publisher, as well as favourite to liberty in this kingdom, that he can shelter himself behind a *Free Press* from the resentment of evil rulers and counsellors, when any of their corrupt measures shall be arraigned, or brought to the bar of the public. Were not this the case, a *Philippic* oration, published against the mischievous proceedings of an Attorney General, might make *black work*, especially should he set about anatomizing any suspicious or home-thrust paragraph. I have already hinted the power of this tremendous civil officer, and that the crown pays no costs. What a sweet expensive political dance could he give to an avowed printer of such an oration? He would probably make him cut such figures, as would throw the whole fraternity into a cold sweat, or chill the very genius of the writers. Should this come to be the case (by the want of a *Free Press*) farewell liberty in *Ireland*!—Our vigilance would prove ineffectual to any valuable purpose, and the peaceable doctrine of passive obedience would be established. An *English* publisher, when his attacks are fair and constitutional, has little to fear; he meets with a noble, effectual support, if persecuted, and generally makes his fortune by it. He has the favour, the strength and majesty of the people engaged for his safety and protection. Neither our writers nor printers, can
have

have this great dependance long ; therefore, may a *Free Press* flourish amongst us, to the terror and amendment of all political sinugglers ! Every illegal state manager is one of these. We, at the same time, earnestly wish that scandal and scurrility, with every thing mean and illiberal, may never disgrace it ! That nothing be admitted, but what may be conducive to the cultivating a rational religion ; to the freedom and stability of government ; to the real-interests of liberty and virtue ; to the promoting of useful arts and manufactures, and to the prosperity of *Ireland*. Several of these advantages have already attended our *Free Presses*. Except when *Sir Peter* himself, the *Prince of Printers*, the *Paragon of periodical performers*, brandished the pen and presented us a *living picture* of the *Dargle*, in his immortal page ! What *faint or watry essays* used to run through our newspapers, before said *Free Presses* were established ! By means of them, is not the spirit of freedom awakened, and more active than formerly ? Are not the principles of liberty, of civil government, nay, of religion itself, better understood by the common people ? Is not knowledge in several branches made easy, and more frequently communicated ? Have not the people been instructed in several interesting parts of history ? And commerce, arts and agriculture, been improved by them ? Have not the
glorious

glorious principles of the Revolution been explained and made known to all? And affectionate loyalty to the present family warmly inculcated, whilst they continue the faithful guardians of a free and legal constitution? Hath not civil and religious bigotry decreased? and slavish notions, even amongst catholics, lost ground? Have not so many repeated discourses on the freedom and excellence of our constitution, and the numerous advantages set forth in living peaceably under it, laid a foundation for further knowledge, and a loyalty that can be depended on?—See how many *political apostates* and *mock patriots*, the Free Presses have made tremble! Even *Viceroy*s have been restrained by them, and kept back from mischief, by the force of their artillery. Have not our city affairs, the police, as well as private life, been amended and improved this way? Have not our city affairs, the police, as well private life, been amended and improved this way? Have not letters and politeness been cultivated, the genius whetted and expanded by their productions?—Shall, then, any little transient abuses, (to which the best things are liable) induce a free people to infringe a privilege so sacred and beneficial; the grand support of liberty herself, and of almost every thing that can embellish, or make life great and happy? Hear no man, my fellow citizens, on so enslaving a subject;

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no matter how his rank, and how many grievances he may rake together, and lay before ye: If once a footing be permitted to strike at the bulwarks, the weight of power will, in time force them from us.

THE fertile imagination of a well-paid court counsellor, will at length paraphrase every sentence against the King's ministers into a libel. Can any man deny, that since these Presses have been freely exercised, the people know more fully their own rights and power; a thing most necessary in all free governments, where there should be no *hoodwinking*, or expensive *bocus pocus* work, against their privileges. They have by them, as it were, been introduced to their governors; a greater intimacy now subsists. Acquaintances are formed between the constituents and their representatives; the former know what the latter are doing; for the Presses are, in a manner, bound (if faithful) to tell them their *good* or *bad* behaviour. Hence they will be properly qualified how to proceed in a new or general election. The characters, likewise, of candidates, in their first offers at ambition, or to serve the public and themselves, are made known to the electors, without ceremony, which is one great foundation of a virtuous representative in parliament. It is even a question with me, whether, without these
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same excellent Presses, or the spirit of liberty diffused by them throughout the kingdom, we should have had the *Octennial Bill*, or the *Tax on Absentees*: And without them, it is highly probable, that the strides of a *Townshend* over the constitution, would have been much wider, and more frequent. Corruption's torrent, indeed, poured fast upon us; but, without these, we might have been overwhelmed.

It has been properly remarked, that where subjects are immediately interested in the administration of affairs, they cannot be too vigilant: Where from the structure of their government, they are frequently called together, to consult for the common good, we may expect to find the independent senator bravely opposing the pernicious designs of a corrupt ministry; or, in a more public manner, from the press calling upon his fellow subjects, to unite their influence in opposing destructive measures. By this method, a just alarm may be sounded, that may reach the remotest corners of the kingdom, and liberty be preserved. Indeed, the happy influence of a Free Press may be diffused through every department of the state, from the first servant of the public to the constable. Wherever, therefore, in a free government, we observe an attempt to bear down this species of freedom, and the people are intimidated by fines
and

and imprisonments, &c. it is then the public jealousy ought to be roused : No suspicious propositions should be even reasoned upon, but at once banished, with becoming marks of resentment ; for it is then that the enslaving sons of tyranny are meditating the destruction of every thing dear and valuable to us, as men. Without a free full liberty in thinking and publishing, the truth itself would be crippled, before it reached posterity, (if ever it did.) History would be deprived of its noblest supports and ornaments ; tyrants might pass uncourged ; and the just fame due to great actions be withheld. In a word, without this generous freedom, religion would not properly be mens own : Ignorance and persecution would take place ; and, in policy,—the most destructive despotism.

IN what I have said, I am an advocate not only for the *liberty of the press*, but for *genius, knowledge, civil and religious freedom*, for *virtue herself*, (the fairest of all forms) for *arts, sciences, philosophy, commerce, manufactures, agriculture*, and every thing that can adorn or make a nation happy : They all depend on, or are improved by a free communication of sentiments and opinions. The suffering the smallest infringement on what it must ever be our pride and highest honour to support, should stamp us in the eyes of our fellow subjects in *Great Britain*,

tain, (who are friends to liberty) as the outcasts of the community ; as unworthy ever to have tasted the the many blessings conferred upon us by this divine gooddeffs. We would even appear despicable in our own eyes, and be cursed by a betrayed posterity. Bad ministers and men in power there have been, and are ; this the most orthodox court politician must allow. These, without the curb of a *Free Press*, might, in time, ride freely over the constitution. Some of them have done so, in spite of every restraint, for a little time. Others have shewed a disposition to drive *rough-shod* over our rights and privileges, (as the devil does and will, over sinners) and we have too many *Limbertongues* in defence of freedom. We are yet behind the sons of liberty, in *England*, in their constant readiness to contribute their assistance, and to open their purses in defence of the common cause. Their Bill of Rights Society has given substantial proofs of a generous disinterestedness ; and the different societies formed, and forming in *Great-Britain*, in support of the common cause, must be attended with the most beneficial advantages, and does the highest honour to their patriotism.

REGARDLESS of interest, or of what men in power shall think, they go on gloriously to maintain a constitutional balance against all arbitrary proceedings. In this, we are likewise

wife (as in other improvements) far behind them. We either want leaders of spirit, or such societies would have been established long since. Our intention to form such associations has been mentioned in the *English* papers. The not doing it with spirit and dispatch, will wound the national character for freedom and independence.

THE lawyers themselves should be among the foremost in forming such societies. Such of them as are expectants, or have abilities to bring to market, will be backward in such a work; but I will assert, that whenever civil liberty shall be lost, their profession will be in a great measure insignificant. Should the will of a monarch take place, there could be but little dignity in it. The freedom of the constitution gives nerve and force to their powers and pleading. What has been called the glorious uncertainty of the law, is founded upon this, and is the never-failing source of *rancor* and *riches*. In truth, when the veneration for law and judges shall cease, neither juries nor parliaments will long survive. Let, therefore, all unite in the defence of liberty: In the support of a free well-conducted Press, on which her interests so intimately depend; and of every generous association; a design whereby the rights of the people may be effectually secured; arbitrary measures

measures baffled, and the prosperity of *Ireland* established on a permanent foundation. The writer of this abhors *licentiousness*, in principle and practice; nor would he ever have government opposed for the sake of doing so. It is the ordinance of God to us—for good only. When it answers this great original design, it deserves the firmest support of a free people. It is a just remark, that it is with liberty as it is with power. always unsafe—when excessive. The same limits that separate power and liberty secure both. Liberty is power in the hands of the people. Power is liberty in the hands of the prince. Unbounded liberty is as dangerous as unbounded power; and there is as much an end of liberty, when the people can do what they please, as when the prince can. He who domineers over his superiors, is as much a tyrant, as he who does so over his inferiors.

EVERY extreme is evil and dangerous. A free legal constitution should be inviolably maintained by every part of the legislature, and a proper balance preserved. The safety and prosperity of the common-wealth is the acknowledged end of all free governments. Liberty and virtue are the guardian angels that must protect, and render them lastingly happy.

VOL. II.

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Should

Should these withdraw their benign influences,
We shall soon sink into slavery and barbarism.

HUMPHREY SEARCH.

L E T T E R XLIV.

To the CONDUCTORS of the HIBERNIAN
JOURNAL.

*Our learn'd physicians are agreed,
That sometimes it is fit to bleed;
State doctors wisely judge the same,
The politic and corp'ral frame;
For inward ails, external tumours,
Let out both blood and peccant humours.*

Agriculture and Commerce. *A Poem.*

To whom it may concern.

YE curs in chains, will ye
never have done *yelping* at *Humphrey*?—He
thought he had silenced ye long since:—What
sad ungrateful dogs ye are to *bark* and *snap* at
the person that is striving to untie, and set ye
free!—Thou *snarling Antenor*, (of the *spaniel*
breed) with the *Stamp-act* collar about thy neck,
thy *scent* is wrong and confused!—thou art not
even

even fit to run in amongst the *sawning* breed, that *yowl* at the *tail* of the *pack*.—What could have dragged forth thy leaden, crude conceptions?—"Thou comest in such a *questionable* *shape*, that I will speak to thee;"—call thee *Parasite, Pander, Prostitute, Parricide*.—Hadst thou appeared in any other paper than the *Court Mercury*, (who now publishes proclamations *gratis*) thy weak, indigested remarks should have sunk into oblivion; but, coming through an offensive channel, from whence dirt hath been so liberally thrown at the most respectable characters, at every friend to, and writer in favour of liberty, they deserve particular attention. Thou art not a *long*, but a *broken-winded* performer; which implies your having been a *back*, and without *bottom*:—Now, the *long-winded Search* (which indicates both *soundness* and *bottom*) intends, at present to *blow* upon you; or with a *political whiff* or two, throw down your airy *stamp-paper structure*.—So much, by way of *prologue*, or *counter-blast*:—But, to be more serious.—

ON seeing a letter, in favour of a Stamp-act in *Ireland*, coming through *Hoey's* paper, (which hath been the slavish vehicle through which every measure destructive to its commerce, revenues, liberties and prosperity, hath been conveyed) I could not help founding the alarm to

my countrymen, of some mischief intended. This wretched, dangerous paper, ever since the *reverend* and *military Townsbend hirelings* were worried into silence, has, it must be owned, not belched forth such over-charged nonsense, or vile crudities, as formerly : But, for want of materials to do evil, the *Swiss* proprietor has contented himself with puffing forth quack medicines for the body, as he had formerly poisonous principles for the mind ; or else intriguing novels, everlive of female virtue ; stale jests, and worn-out, thread-bare stories and anecdotes. If the present impudent attempt of *Antenor*, (who seems to be a *spawn* from the political *gang* that infested us during the late administration) to recommend a stamp-act, originates from this scribbler's superiors, it is time for the friends of liberty to look sharp around them, as the attack is begun, and the enemy in the field. On the other hand, if his degrading praises of Lord *Harcourt*, or his recommending so hated and suspicious a subject as the Stamp-act, be to procure government proclamations, why, this is an insult on his Excellency ; for, the moment he shall encourage *such a printer*, that moment his popularity will cease ; and, he may be assured, that every paragraph from the *Mercury* of *Lies* will fully his honour.—Lord *Townsbend* was bedaubed and held up to view, for some years, in that false mirrour, and at length became odious

to the people. His every measure—the protest, prorogation, augmentation, his robbery of Sir *Edward Newenham*, the riot act, nay, his very worst proceedings, with the destructive national debt, and beggarly pension list, with the beggars themselves on it, were all celebrated; and the welfare of this kingdom asserted to depend on those acts of despotism.

THESE shocking plans and depredations have already begun their direful operations; and our commerce, credit and confidence, are all dying of Mr. *Hoey's* good symptoms.—Can ye, my worthy fellow citizens, in the present distressed situation of affairs; your trade languishing; repeated bankruptcies spreading universal diffidence; the revenue decreasing; and the expences of this almost exhausted country exceeding its income near two hundred thousand pounds annually; with a national debt daily gaining ground;—I say, can ye, under such depressed circumstances, listen with patience to the venal chatterings of an ignorant scribbler, in favour of a stamp-act, or new taxes? Would not every writer, who is a friend to *Ireland*, be rather employed in proposing plans of œconomy, or to lessen our burthen, and relieve us from such complicated distress? Wretched sophister that thou art, would the poor fourteen thousand pounds you mention, be felt, or light-

en the vast load we are tottering under? Would a single tax be lessened by it? Would this pitiful sum be an equivalent for the clog that so hateful an act would occasion to commerce, to literature and liberty? Can thy *pedling, pigmy* genius rise no higher? Thou art but a poor scholar, a *tattered gleaner* in the *field of science*; you have hardly a glimpse of the enslaving subject you write upon.

EXTENDED is the mischief that a stamp-act would occasion in this kingdom. Our law proceedings themselves (already most grievous) would be rendered more expensive and intricate by it; our trade and manufactures would suffer, and be enhanced by it; and the liberty of the press, that great palladium, I may say, of our freedom, would be highly endangered. In a word, learning, arts, sciences, philosophy and religion, might all be sufferers. The spirit of liberty is greatly assisted by news-paper publications. Perhaps, the easy accession of the *Hanover* family, in the year 1714, was, in part owing to news-paper essays; and the tory attempts to supersede it, in some measure frustrated, by a generous freedom in thinking and acting, then disused by periodical writings. His Majesty's ministers, should, therefore, at present discourage such an act. With as much reason should eloquence or oratory be taxed;
for

for the flame of either liberty and sedition, hath been with more ease raised by it: Nay, we may include a *whisper*; for that has sometimes occasioned much mischief. Should those easy, agreeable vehicles of conveyance (the newspapers) be fettered, or their prices raised, they would soon cease to be bought universally, by which that virtuous vigilance of public affairs (so necessary to the existence of a free state) would, in a great measure, be neglected. How agreeable this would prove to the enemies of liberty, need not be enlarged upon. The injury to constitutional freedom, to almost every thing that can polish and adorn life, which would arise from putting a printer's name to our periodical publications, or any further restraints on the Free Presses (particularly in this kingdom) I have already considered in my late defence of them; to which I refer.

BUT, besides the disadvantages above mentioned, relating to a stamp-act, we should have a new board instituted, for conducting it to public and private advantage, with all its various appendages, and a dreadful apparatus of new officers (good men and true) for the service of the crown, by which the prerogative would receive additional strength; and, by thus gradually undermining the independence of parliament,

ment, our liberties might soon be brought to the brink of destruction.

How such a *smatterer* as Mr. *Antenor* should come to vend his crudities on a subject he knows so little about, is amusing. His contracted ideas, confined to what shall arise from news-paper publications, and eight hundred thirty four pounds expences, was very masterly. Were it necessary to my design in this letter, I could shew his calculations, even in these, to be false, and the whole an absurdity. The futility of the attempt, and great ignorance of the writer, makes me suspect that this stamp act advocate, is either *Hoey himself*, or a *political projection* of his, to get the government proclamations: Or, perhaps, some late paraphrases on *Wag-stuffs fustian*, and *bombastical dedications*;—or, on *Yorkebox Furbush's letter* * have impelled the nest of *bornets* to sally forth, in order to attack the Free Presses, or writers on the side of liberty and their country. It is hoped, that the free and virtuous part of the public, will, in future, have a most suspicious opinion of whatever comes through the channel

* It is reported, that *William Furbush* is become a *political penitent*, and will soon read his *resantation* from the *errors* of the *box*, in order to qualify himself for either *standing* or *sitting* candidate, at the next general election, to represent the City of *Dublin* in parliament.

of the long-prostituted Mercury. The present melancholy appearances in the commercial world (the effect of the late destructive administration) shew, that there was not a single writer in the *mercurial* collection, or the hateful gang of sycophants who endeavoured by their sophistry to *hood-wink* and *rob* the public, that knew any thing of the trade, the finances, or real state of this kingdom. Their beggarly compositions (dedicated to the Provost and *Monck Mason*) being little more than petulant assertions, or an indiscriminate abuse of every senator that was a friend to *Ireland*. *Brutus* and *Search* repeatedly called on them to come to close quarters. They once attempted it, and were easily defeated. The public were witnesses to it; and, as mere invective generally supplied the place of argument, the writers in favour of liberty and a free constitution, thought them below contempt. Be on your guard, ye people! from the same paper—more taxes and a stamp act are recommended! The hireling scribbler, we have been discussing, cannot, it seems see, in what the strength of *Search's* arguments against an union consisted. I believe not, and suspect that the contracted *focus* of his understanding cannot take them in. They remain unanswered, and I call on the *ablest court advocate* to set them aside. If he shall fairly come to particulars, and give solid reasoning in-

stead of abuse (which the most ignorant are generally most profuse in) *Search* will give him a candid hearing; and if convinced by facts and arguments, will at once read his recantation from the errors of liberty, and be a political convert. His letters, he hopes, have been useful; he is convinced they are founded in truth and nature, and has, occasionally, produced the best authorities in support of them. The subject of the stamp act shall be considered at large, before the meeting of parliament, either by *Search*, or an abler writer. I have adopted the method of giving the subject I write on in one view, if possible, this being most agreeable to men of sense, and more eligible than short, imperfect sketches, which sometimes but play on the surface of the imagination, without either convincing the judgment, or affecting the heart. But let us now examine what our very superficial author says, relating to the *American* stamp act, in order to reconcile us to this mark of slavery, viz. "That the opposition was not on account of the tax itself, but from its being imposed by the *British* parliament, contrary to the charters, &c."

LET us, a little, view the state of the *Americans*, before the stamp act was passed, and we shall not only see the injustice of the act, but their inability to comply with it. It was re-
jected

jected not only from its being illegally imposed; but because of its great burthen, and future ruinous consequences. The brave colonists had, before that *hateful act*, suffered and bled in defence of their liberties, and of the interests of the *mother country*, against the *French* encroachments and cruelties. The four *New England* colonies alone, raised and supported 20,000 men, yearly; and it appears, as a most respectable writer observes, that they had lost above 30,000 men in defence of the common cause. Their country, by those important, expensive services, was not only drained of money but of inhabitants, that were the very flower and strength of the people. The sad survivors; the fathers, the brothers, the friends and relations of such as had fallen to preserve their freedom, were, before the stamp act, loaded with taxes above what they were able to bear, and for debts contracted during the war. By these sufferings the foundation was laid for the vast addition to our settlements from the enemy in the last war. Can we once imagine, that a people so hardly circumstanced and harrassed, so exhausted and depopulated, had no other objections to a destructive, enslaving stamp act, but its illegality? Surely we cannot. Let it be further observed, that the trade of the present colonists is not mended by these great acquisitions. The more land that is to be purchased on the continent,

tinent, the less will that give which is newly cultivated. The greater the possessions we have in *North-America*, the greater quantity of indigo, rice, tobacco, hemp, flax, fur, and timber, that are thence imported, so much the less must each colony gain by its trade in these articles. Now, these are the very commodities by which they pay their taxes. Thus situated, how iniquitous was the imposition of an act to *stamp* those free-born sons of liberty with slavery. That this wretched writer knew little of a subject his almost *sacrilegious pen* presumed to *mangle*, will further appear, when we add (as hath been properly observed) that the burthen of the *American* stamp act would have fallen on the middling and labouring people, the poor, the widow, and the orphan, with others, who would have few to help them under the pressure of this heavy tax.—I say, heavy; and shall give an instance or two to prove the truth of what is asserted. A ream of printed bail bonds, before the act, was sold for fifteen shillings, sterling—with the stamps the same quantity would sell for about one hundred pounds, sterling. A ream of printed policies of assurance, sold for about forty shillings, sterling, with the stamps it would amount to one hundred and ninety pounds, sterling. The fees in the probate offices, with the addition of stamps, would, in most of the provinces, be three times
 what

what had been hitherto paid ; and many other necessary articles in the same proportion. Had this been admitted, probably a chain of taxes (this being only a link) would have followed. Let the friends of liberty then, in this threatened, pillaged country, sympathize and rejoice with those who nobly rejected the yoke that had been prepared to gall and enslave them, and trampled it under their feet. *One great truth*, however, is established by this despotic, ministerial attempt, viz. That legal taxation can only follow representation, and that every part of the *British* dominions should be *actually*, and not *merely virtually* represented. *Manchester, Birmingham*, and some other large trading towns, may yet see the propriety of this observation. We may now see what an extended, expensive, enslaving expedient a stamp act is. What a fruitful field would such a country as *Ireland* be, for so profitable an establishment for government ; in which merchants, lawyers, (or rather their clients) booksellers, printers, &c. &c. &c. would yield such a plentiful increase ! What a revenue would it produce ? What ravages would it commit on literature, liberty, commerce, arts, manufactures, &c. too tedious to mention ! Oh, ye Free Presses ! ye might then groan without hope of relief ; or, perhaps, an *imprimatur* might hush you into silence ! How *charmingly* would our *civil privileges* be
enlarged

enlarged or secured, by an additional weight thrown into the power of the crown, by a new board of, perhaps, five excellent commissioners, with the *political trimmings*, to carry on this pleasing novelty, which Mr. *Hoey*, or his *amanuensis* tells us, would prove so agreeable to the people; and then one thousand four hundred pounds a year, with *only* eight hundred and thirty four pounds expences, is so pleasant and easy a mode of taxation, that one almost *skips* at the thoughts of it. Well, *sweet Antenor!* thou art (tho' neither *long-headed* nor *long-winded*) an able advocate for government and the stamp act! Thou must be promoted (if a *Mar-lay* not in the way) thou art so *modest*, so *forward*, so *knowing* and *clever*, that it will be hard to fix the price of thy worth properly. This one paper, *pregnant* with so many *nice calculations*, and looking down with an easy, contemptuous *sneer* on your antagonists, has brought you into *observation*; and, as there is a *scarcity* of good hands, you may *brandish* the pen to *advantage*, and be the *champion* of the party. As you have seen nothing on the *union* or *land tax* that pleases you, there is a large field in these extended subjects. (if you are not *broken-winded* in *literature*) for your cogitative faculties to exert themselves in. —As *Ireland* is at present fitted so well for easy and extensive plans of taxation, the people will
be

be glad to see a few essays from you, through their favourite *Mercury*, on those subjects. I hear that the *five new excise* commissioners are but in a tottering way; and, if by wielding a few arguments properly, you can fix them firmly in the saddle, or as it were, nail them fast to the board, you may, when the stamp act shall be rivetted, be, perhaps, made Surveyor of the Printing Presses, or Chief Permit Granter to Literary Productions; and might likewise have a handsome side-salary (as one may say) for being informer against licentious writers and paragraphs. By the way, it would be safer for Hoey himself to publish, in future, without affixing his name; for the laws against libels are very strong; and if, hereafter, he does not use more circumspection, or in other words, mend his manners, he may be punished, or, perhaps, locally chastised in the seat of honour; after which he might, in return, (like ancient Pistol) say, (aside) "*all hell shall stir for this.*" My advice is friendly, for, undoubtedly more dangerous tory principles, and personal abuse (to the most venerable characters) have issued, and diffused from his motley *Mercury* of reports and rebus's, than from all the news-papers in the three kingdoms put together; and, had a spirited whig administration, for these five years past, governed this country, his jacobite publications against his late excellent Majesty, George II. and his equitable

equitable government, would have met the punishment they so justly deserved. Perhaps, his insignificance, his being ignorant and illiterate, or below contempt, have all contributed to his safety on other occasions. *Search* means not to reply to what either he, or *Squire Antenor*, (or his *barsh*, *discordant counter-tenor*) may slobber forth, or to any frothy declamations, devoid of sense and argument. When any traces of these shall appear, he will notice them properly. An angel of light, writing in favour of liberty, would receive invectives from such venal reptiles, who are a disgrace to their country, its determined enemies, and stupidly or wickedly insensible to the numerous blessings of liberty, or the glorious advantages of a free constitution.

It is, in truth, melancholy, in an age of light and knowledge, where science and freedom have been happily advancing, even to think that we should have so many remaining advocates for despotism, and for restraints on our Free Presses. *Hume* himself, (whose authority has been frequently quoted by court writers) who is not a real friend to civil and religious liberty, though most licentious in his principles; though an avowed apologist for the *Stuarts'* arbitrary domination, (but more decent than his tory cousin, Sir *John Dalrymple*) speaking

ing of the Liberty of the Press, says, " It is sufficiently known, that despotic power would steal in upon us, were we not extremely watchful to prevent its progress ; and were there not an easy method of conveying the alarm from one end of the kingdom to the other : The spirit of the people must be frequently roused, to curb the ambition of the court."—(Well said, Mr. *Hume* ; he will be a good whig presently.)—" Nothing is so effectual to this purpose as the Liberty of the Press ; by which all the learning, wit, and genius of the nation, may be employed on the side of liberty, and every one be animated to its defence.—As long, therefore, as the republican part of our government can maintain itself against the monarchical, it must be extremely jealous of the Liberty of the Press, as of the utmost importance to its preservation." (There's a liberty boy for you !—) But he has not done yet ; and goes on to say, " We need not dread from this liberty any such ill consequences as followed from the harangues of the popular demagogues of *Athens*, and tribunes of *Rome*. A man reads a book, or pamphlet, alone and coolly ; there is none present, from whom he can catch the passion or contagion ; he is not hurried away by the force or energy of action ; and, should he be wrought up to never so seditious a humour, there is no violent resolution presented to him, by which he can immediately
vent

vent his passion. The Liberty of the Press, therefore, however abused, can scarce ever excite popular tumults and rebellion. A whisper may fly as quick, and be as pernicious, where men are not accustomed to think freely, or distinguish between truth and falsehood." I hope Mr. *Peter Paragraph*, and Co. with some of his sage brethren at the board, and his cousin *Hoey*, will attentively consider these great, unanswerable truths, and the whole of this *most excellent* letter, before the *next attempted presentation* of writings in favour of *revolution principles*; especially when it is added to what has been said, that a seditious libel is not defined by law, but left to the decision of a jury. It is a very comfortable reflection to the lovers of Liberty, that this peculiar privilege of *British* subjects, is of a kind that cannot be easily wrested from us, but must last as long as our government remains in any degree free and independent. It is seldom that Liberty of any kind is lost all at once; but if the Liberty of the Press be lost, it must be lost at once. The general laws against *sedition* and *libelling* are at present as strong as they possibly can be made. Nothing can impose a further restraint, but either the clapping an *imprimatur* upon the *Press*, or the giving very large discretionary powers to the court to *punish* whatever displeases them. But these concessions would be such a bare-faced

faced violation of liberty, that they will probably be the last efforts of a despotic government ; and we may conclude, that the liberty of these kingdoms is gone for ever, when such attempts shall succeed. I must add, that a pious King of *England*, particularly, should encourage and protect the Freedom of the Press ; for by it he will best know the real sentiments of his *wor-thiest*, most *loyal subjects*, who are uncorrupted and independent ; and likewise the hood winkings, or pranks of evil ministers, that have made or may render him unpopular and detested. It is hoped these observations will shew the weakness and wickedness of attempting to *stamp* us with an expensive slavery, or laying any new restraints upon our Free Presses, which are our almost greatest comforters under oppression ; and, as if it were, the very political food and raiment of our minds. What ! shall free-spirited *Hibernians* suffer the generous honest effusions of their hearts to be rumaged by state officers, and their literary productions (lest they should be smuggled or stolen goods) to go through the Castle permit-office ! Must a tax be laid upon genius, or an embargo on private judgment ! The stamp act will (if it take place) furnish us with licence officers, of peculiar powers and privileges. Madam Common Sense will be kicked out of doors : The reign of despotism and ignorance will succeed. Perhaps
when

when the Liberty of the Press shall be at an end, that of the tongue shall be next restrained. Even whippers, as they have sometimes proved dangerous may be *taxed*, when not out of *ear-shot*. In *France* they have their Lieutenant of Police; we may, likewise, soon come to have our Lieutenant of Literature, which has a fuller sound. But still we must affirm, that without a *Free Press*, there can be no *real Liberty*. Pursue, with precision, the effects of being deprived the publishing our thoughts freely, or of a people not canvassing, by an unrestrained communication of sentiment, the conduct of their governors (to whom they had entrusted power) and the absurdity, as well as evil consequences will immediately appear. The sheltering tree of Liberty would be in danger of being pulled up by the roots; but as rational beings and *British* subjects, we should not tamely suffer a single sprig to be torn from it. The want of this noble, manly jealousy and vigilance hath occasioned the ruin of the greatest commonwealths, both ancient and modern. Let experience, then, teach us wisdom; and, instead of planning hateful, oppressive taxes, in a time of public distress, let our rulers know and understand, that one of the secrets of government is, the rendering toil and labour among the lower ranks, easy and agreeable; in making those actions and employments, without which the community

munity could not subsist, more the effect of choice than of necessity, and alluring men, by rewards and kindneses, rather than by force, which genuine nature must abhor, as contrary to the spirit of freedom, breathed into the breast of every man by the great author and lover of Liberty, who delights in seeing his children free and happy. The more generous and indulgent any government is, the subjects will be proportionably more industrious, and virtuously active; and it is a just observation, that liberty is the parent of industry and riches: Laziness and disaffection the offspring of slavery. Thus, ye people, think and act according to truth and nature. Shew yourselves men, in a determined defence of your rights and privileges; and a becoming resentment against the great or little vulgar, the slaves and tools of power, who shall at any time, attempt to stamp you with slavery. Before I conclude, I should make my apology to friend *Antenor*, for this *long-winded, circumlocution* epistle; but it will give him an opportunity of saying, (by way of answer) "that he had not time to go through such tedious stuff; and that nobody can tell what I would be at; or such like easy chit-chat, &c. &c." Very good! I own it will appear tedious where there is a dark void in the understanding. Time, the most precious of all things, appears so to such as have an internal poverty, who are
without

without a sufficient stock of knowledge and ideas, or who want a taste for rational improvements and elegant pleasures. If it be said, I have been too severe on this author (perhaps—in his first essay) I must answer, in the words of one of the *Highlanders* (a soldier) who, when a *goose* ran after him to bite his legs, he struck off its head with his broad sword, and calmly asked the assailant, “Wha begun first?” The sensible soliloquy shewed great temper. Now, to save any *gaping goose*, or snarling authors trouble in future, I fear that the *longitude* in writing (if it be an error) will often be found in my letters; for I shall surely say what I think necessary on a subject, without minding whether it shall make my essay *long* or *short*. The tune of the *Early horn* is both sweet and long-winded; so, my dear *Antenor*, or any other friend to the stamp act, farewel; *remember me!*—the *long-winded, Early horn*,

HUMPHREY SEARCH.

LETTER

L E T T E R XLV.

To the CONDUCTORS of the HIBERNIAN
JOURNAL.

HUMPHREY SEARCH'S SECOND LETTER,
relating to ANTENOR'S Stamp Act.

To the P E O P L E.

*Annals of recent date may shew
A patriot's pen, the deadliest foe,
To pull the Machinations down,
Of traitors that ensnare the crown.*

The Powers of the Pen. *A Poem.*

IT is hoped the political, *long-winded Early horn* I have already sounded, has roused some individuals that were *drowsy* in the cause of liberty and their country; or that we shall now hunt out the *foxes, wolves*, and other *beasts of prey*, that would destroy our freedom, properties, and the constitution along with them. The superficial, mercurial *Antenor* (having exhibited his first *flourish* in *Authorship* under that dear name) has been properly initiated, or received, as it were, *political baptism*; though, for my own part, I suspect him to be an *old*
back

back in the service, by his *lameness* and *want* of *bottom*. A *Mar-lay* before him to advancement ; and I suppose he thought by leaping the bounds of patriotism and common sense, to bask himself in the sun-shine of court favour. But we hope to *fetter*, or keep him in the *pound* of despair for some time longer, unless he shall change his shape or signature ; though it is probable he will be always known by his gauze-net covering.—One would think, by his zeal, that he has the stamp for the papers already in his pocket ; but his flimsy news-paper investigations and calculations (mostly false) will never do, and shew him to be miserably ignorant on that extended subject. In treating of it, we must go much further than such fugitive pieces. The trouble, delay, or expence that printers may be at, or the sum that may be raised on them in consequence of this act, is not the question. Our circumstances and state are to be closely considered ; above all, the influence that so complicated, extensive an act must have on our liberties and properties ; how the power of the crown must be strengthened, and the independence of parliament be affected by it ; how the active, vigilant, the glorious spirit of freedom must be depressed ; I say depressed, for no earthly power has ever yet been able totally to destroy it in these kingdoms ; where (when thought to have been banished), it has, un-
wares,

wares, often rose in its native force and splendor, superior to slavish restraints, and at once hurled the tyrants (its enemies) with their adherents, from their usurped stations, and trampled them in the dust. I well know that at present too many are lukewarm in the common cause: Though they can afford it, they do not buy the *Penny* news-papers, because of the price;—our superiors well know that were the prices of these papers raised (which is eagerly wished for) they would not often be read by the generality of people, consequently their designs and measures would be less noticed than at present; and, peradventure, our liberties and properties would, in time, lie at their disposal. This is the light in which we should view the dangerous, controuling stamp act, and not lose our time in unimportant calculations about its temporary inconveniencies, or what would be produced to government by this or that article. This is but playing on the surface of the argument—Let us be thoroughly free. There is no dignity and happiness;—we are not men without being so. Liberty in its full, legal extent, we argue and stand up for. In this desirable state we can never be taxed without our own consent; and should representatives come to be so corrupt as to betray their trust, by acting in contradiction to the sense of their constituents, or by establishing modes of

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taxation that would endanger their liberties and enlarge the prerogative; why, in that case, they are not, properly speaking, their representatives at all. The original design of the constitution, and of their being elected, is perverted and set aside. They are not the servants of the people, but of the crown; nor can any man of impartiality or common sense say, that should our liberties come to be endangered by the suffrages and compliances of such men, that we should tamely abide by their venal decisions, in surrendering up our privileges. The absurdity is too great to be much reasoned upon. We cannot even call those a free people over whom government is equitably exercised; but those only who live under an administration so constitutionally chequed and controuled that a legal provision is made against its being otherwise exercised, and the sense and strength of the people appealed to, as different exigencies shall require. This alone is civil liberty. I have before shewn what the *Americans* suffered by their unshaken loyalty and attachment to the mother country last war, and how deeply their trade and interests were affected by so doing. The stamp act was passed at a time when they were not only exhausted by the war, but also, when most severe restrictions on the North America commerce had soured the temper of the people. At that unseasonable time (not to mention

tion its illegality) did a bungling, avaricious ministry attempt to tax a people not represented in the *British* parliament, and without their own consent. Our present state in *Ireland* renders us very unfit objects for further political experiments, lest we should in good earnest die in the operation. Though poor, we are still a most tempting morsel to pick. The stamp act is a monster that would commit the most dreadful ravages every where: Learning, liberty, law, arts, sciences, politics, commerce, manufactures, even the news-papers, our remaining comforters (from whence we now make known our complaints) would all suffer, and partake of its baleful operation. Believe me, if we tamely admit this vile restraint, or quietly hold out our necks for the yoke of slavery, we shall not only be plucked and picked, but pared to the bone. Should it get footing in this ill-fated country, it would prove but the beginning of sorrows, and be only the prologue to new taxations, and different boards of politically *stamp excise* officers, that at length would dwindle into *senators* or *privy counsellors*, and then be the *faithful* guardians of their own employments. We are, undoubtedly, a very extended mark for this act in our law-suits, deeds, settlements, contracts, assignments, grants, papers, commissions, mortgages, writs, wills, and various parchment proceedings: In our

mercials papers and policies, protests, clearances, bonds, indentures, insurances, awards, agreements, &c. &c. Nay, we could not flourish on a marriage, a divorce, deaths and characters, on the elevating and marvellous, on good and bad news, or on crim. con. and elopements, at free cost, and with unrestrained efforts of genius, or flights of fancy, as we do at present. Liberty gives life and spirit to every thing ; but you see the stamp act, by so deeply affecting it, would throw a damp every where. The attempts of the present ministry to enlarge the kingly prerogative, to make parliaments dependent on the crown, or employing so great a part of the public treasury in maintaining a constant standing majority in the House of Commons, is truly alarming. And, should the crown now assume to itself the appointment of officers to manage the *East India* affairs, or be vested (as some fear) with the whole civil and military authority of the presidency of *Bengal*, and also the government of all the territorial acquisitions and revenues of the company, with a superintendency over the settlements of *Bombay* and *Madras*, it would prove quite too strong for every effort that could be made against it ; for, by having such an additional number of places to bestow, the independence of parliament must be destroyed, and that just balance by which the freedom of the constitution

tion has been so long maintained, would be lost. The usual forms might, indeed, be kept up between the K—g and his parliamentary trained bands, but the liberty of the subjects would be no more ; and this slow, sure method (as it were) by *sap*, to *undermine* our freedom, is more dangerous than, perhaps, an open attack on our privileges, which at once would call forth the united strength and resolution of the people. Their majesty on such an occasion, or when their liberties are endangered, will appear with becoming greatness and dignity. Glory and safety shall ever attend such. A *virtuous, free* people will find amazing resources in their own native strength and vigilance ; in their activity and wisdom ; in their valour, resolution, and love of freedom. The noblest, most animating reflections will inspire them in defending our most excellent, legal constitution. Oppressions often repeated, or arbitrary designs avowed and held forth, may (like the spear of Telephus) bring a remedy along with their wounds and distresses. Our parliamentary security and privileges, must ever be endangered without triennial or rather annual elections, could they be obtained ; and above all, that none who shall hold places of profit, under the crown, shall sit in the House of Commons ; for the admitting such into it again as have vacated their seats by preferment, on their being re-elected,

is but a mere farce ; these matters being all settled beforehand. Indeed, until our political *state doctors*, shall cease to feel the pulses of the members, it is to be feared we shall not stand fast in the liberty, wherewith the constitution had made us free. But to return to our subject. Though the *Americans*, by their charters and original privileges, could not be taxed without their own consent, because not represented ; yet the famous governor *Bernard*, (now one of our five new excise officers) attorney for the stamp act in *Boston*, told the people in one of his harangues, “ That the *right* of the parliament of *Great-Britain* to make laws for the colonies, remains indisputable at *Westminster*. ”—Excellent ! This, no doubt, was very edifying and convincing to the *Bostonians*, &c. who were of a different way of thinking, and exercised the right of private judgment thoroughly on that occasion. I hope we, who boast of greater light and liberty, will, if attempted on this suspicious, heretical subject, take the freedom likewise of being fully persuaded in our own minds in this matter. That we may have a clearer view of this interesting affair, we must turn our thoughts, not only to the great extension of the stamp act, and the heavy taxes that would arise from it, as designed for and attempted amongst the *Americans* ; by which we shall see how much we should be on our guard against
such

such accumulated oppression. By that arbitrary act all papers relating to property, to judicial proceedings, commerce, navigation, &c. &c. that had not been stamped, were, in future, to be *null* and *void*; and every person who should sign, engross, or write on such papers, were to forfeit for each fact, ten pounds. Now, mark its consequences, in case of non-compliance, viz. That all the public offices, relating to law or commerce, were in effect, to be shut up; for no officer would incur penalties, more perhaps than his place or himself was worth, for the sake of doing what would be void when done. Suppose the stamp act passed in this kingdom, attended with the same *blessed apparatus* and penalties (which, every power friendly to *Ireland* and liberty, forbid!) Suppose another *governing Excellency* (or another *Bernard*) should, in future, come among us, and like a true *political Vicar of Bray*, tell us of the above *orthodox Westminster* doctrine, and require our confession of faith to the same; and if we refused complying with every part of said act, threaten us with the consequences. Suppose in this case (the act being passed) that it would be legal, in case we refused using and paying for the stamps, to suspend all public business; to force our compliance, by deferring all trials in the courts; where, no doubt, many causes of consequence would be depending, and law-

yers, as usual, retained or fee'd at a great expence ; that no papers but such as were stamped, would be granted out of the offices belonging to or connected with said courts, who, in their turn, would suffer no other to be read and received. That the same suspension would take place in the Custom-house is certain, and that till the stamps were used and paid for, no goods could be entered or discharged ; by which the merchant, who depended on a quick sale to save his credit, or to get rid of the fears of a falling market, might be greatly injured or ruined, especially if the goods were of a perishable kind. All exports and imports must then cease ; commerce and the linen manufacture, suffer deeply. Navigation must likewise cease, and heavy expences be incurred by ships lying at great charges, but cannot sail for want of clearances. How many families and individuals would be ruined by this ; for the hands of course, would be discharged, and let loose on the community at large for support. Would not such a general stoppage hurt all our manufactures, and extending throughout the kingdom, not only the different branches of commerce, but almost every thing would be affected by it. In such a situation how must men's property be endangered, when none could sue or be sued, and an universal confusion take place ? An embargo might be laid on all shipping :

ping; provisions would immediately rise, credit and confidence would be no more! I do not say that all these things would happen by the stamp act, but as it would be attended with certain penalties, and the executioners of it be invested with, perhaps, large powers, I will assert, that when said act shall be passed, in case of non-compliance in the subject with its numerous demands, it will be in the power of administration to cause a general suspension in business, as above specified. But not only when the act shall be passed, may our liberties and properties be endangered (by a non-compliance with its terms) in an immediate suspension of public business; but as these stamps and papers, that shall be politically prepared or electrified, will be in the possession or under the direction of government, there may in future be managers and disposers of them, who being the tools of power, may, under the pretence of an information (of some having incurred penalties, by using papers without being stamped) delay certain persons, who shall have immediate occasion for said papers, by which their property may be greatly affected. Not only the friends of liberty, who may have opposed the measures of evil-rulers, or magistrates; but even such as may have incurred the resentment of the venders of the stamps, may suffer much loss and great inconvenience this way. This is a further proof, how absolutely

such a despotic restraining law would put us under the power of administration, whether good or evil. A wise and free people, who properly regard their rights and safety, should never suffer themselves to be placed in so dangerous a situation (by which their political free agency would be destroyed) or permit government, to whom they had entrusted the guardianship of their privileges, to have, as we may say, a legal right to distress them at pleasure. The consequences of this may be fatal. Under such a perilous expectation, we should not give way,—no, not for an hour. Now is the proper time to consider these things; now is the day of our political salvation. The nature and operations of this act have been, in part, delineated. I have held forth the out-lines of the picture to my countrymen, that they may see its hideous deformity, and turn from it with abhorrence and detestation. It is hoped in the present distressed state of public affairs, that at the ensuing assizes, the Grand Juries will address his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, against both an union and a stamp act, and let the sense of the people be fully shewn to his Excellency. Either of these dreadful expedients, added to our present calamities, would render the æra of Lord Harcourt's administration, that of *Ireland's* ruin. By an united, firm, timely representation of this to his Excellency, impending misfortune may be prevented. Our commerce

merce and credit are already so weak and crippled, that in the most opulent and populous province in this kingdom, and where the linen manufacture has been (in former happy days) our joy and support; a damp on trade, and particularly on this great national staple, and the very important growing cambrick manufacture, has almost universally spread itself. Even the linen-drapers cannot (for cash offered them by other traders) draw bills on their factors (as formerly) with whom their goods have been long lying unfold. And it is a melancholy truth, that, for some time past, there have been upwards of seventy thousand pieces undisposed of, at our linen-hall;—a thing never before known at this season, and carries with it a discouraging prospect to the *English* market. Other branches of commerce will necessarily be affected by this; and the balance of trade, with an high exchange, will both run against us. I doubt not but some of the *Mercury recruits*, or *day-labouring scribblers*, will easily account for this; or tell us, *roundly* or *squarely*, that these appearances, if rightly understood, are some more good *symptoms* or sure *prognostics* of future prosperity. Our free and loyal corporations should, in their patriotic resolutions, deem all such venal hoodwinkers to be the enemies of *Ireland*;—particularly *union* and *stamp act advocates*. And shall we ever suffer ourselves to be cajoled into a state of such abject dependence,

dence, from which nothing but an unreserved submission to that hateful law could relieve us? Or, shall we attend to the smooth, superficial, sliding arguments of hired, designing sycophants, on this enslaving subject? I know not that law (taking in its penalties, and the extended power it must give over us) that could more effectually bring us under a thorough subjection to an arbitrary government. The very laws themselves would be disabled by it: and, without our compliance in purchasing the stamps, could neither, in some instances, act for or relieve us. These penalties would make *fine work* for spies and informers, who, in time, might, by evil rulers and magistrates, be directed to exercise a few *wholesome* severities against such, as at any time, should oppose administration, or distinguish themselves on the side of liberty and their country.

SEVERAL considerable inconveniencies might likewise arise from this act.—Should a person who had some necessary assignments to make, be suddenly taken ill, in a part of the country where, perhaps, death would close his eyes before paper properly stamped could be had, the injury to his posterity, friends, or individuals might be very great. The reader's imagination may supply other instances; so, I shall not enumerate them.—But, lying at the mercy of such a law, and the swarms of officers that

that such an extensive act of legislation must generate, could we, in earnest, think ourselves really free, when by it we should be so immediately exposed to the power and resentment of evil rulers, on any emergency?—Or did we, in groaning under its pressure, come to remonstrate, or humbly represent our grievances, can we once think that an expedient so *extensive*, *commanding* and *profitable*,—that would keep us to (what would be called) *our good behaviour*, and intimidate or restrain the printers, and so greatly strengthen the power of the crown, would ever be repealed?—No! it never would but by resistance; which, above all things, governors should avoid giving cause for.

THE inhabitants of *Great-Britain* suffer severely by this act.—The *Americans* we see would not be restrained by it.—We are now free from its galling yoke; let us follow their glorious example, and use every constitutional effort to prevent our being entangled in this political snare. Should this law once be established, it will prove a dead weight to our liberty, commerce, and spirits,—an everlasting millstone about our necks, that at length may bring ourselves, or privileges, to the ground, and crush them effectually.—View this destructive enslaving scheme in any light, (when in full play against our privileges) and it will appear big with many mischiefs, and everlive of freedom.

dom. After this, we cannot plead ignorance of the nature and design of the stamp act; and, if we use not the proper endeavours against it, all may be lost. The several constituents throughout the kingdom should directly instruct their representatives in this matter. I doubt not but our Guild of Merchants will again be foremost, as they were in addressing against an union. I am not a little sorry that the spirit of liberty in *Ireland*, or our united patriotism, has not yet formed a constitutional society for the support of our rights, where there would be so ample a field for it, and so many objects of importance, immediately deserving its attention.

It is observable, that when the *English* ministry were reduced to the disgraceful, but salutary expedient of repealing the stamp act in *America*, part of the preamble was, viz.—“Whereas, the continuance of said act may be productive of consequences greatly detrimental to the commercial interests of *these kingdoms*, &c. &c.” Are not the colonies included in *these kingdoms*? If so, they have testified against the legality of their own proceedings, in attempting to tax subjects not represented, and against their own consent, as well as to the evil tendency of the act itself. If it be said that *America* and the colonies are not included in the words, *these kingdoms*, then they are aliens,

ens, or outcasts from the commonwealth of *Israel*; or, not the *full and free* subjects of his majesty, as *we are*: A proposition this, dangerous in its consequences, and not to be reasoned upon. It is *sound sense*, and *good policy* to include the colonies, &c. in these words; for, they are as truly parts of them, as either *Ireland, Scotland, or England* itself. In the time of the last war, a gentleman of fortune and character, in *Boston*, sent one of their *rate bills* to a correspondent of eminence in *London*, for his opinion of it: His answer to the honest alarmed *Bostonian*, was, “ That he did not believe there was a man in all *England*, who paid so much (in proportion) towards the support of government.” Besides this, one of the assessors of *Boston* owned, that in one of the years when the tax on account of the war was great, it was as follows, viz.—On personal estate, 13s. 4d. in the pound; that is to say, if a man’s income, from money at interest, or any other way, was 60l. per annum, he was assessed sixty times 13s. 4d, (I wish our perpetual absentee gentry had a touch of this!) and so in proportion, whether the sum was more or less. On real estate, the assessment was at the rate of six years income; that is, if a man’s house or land was valued at 203l. a year, this sum was multiplied by six, amounting to 1200l. and the interest of this, (which is 72l.) was the sum he must pay.

BESIDE

BESIDE this, the rate upon every man's *poll*, and the *polls* of all the males in his house, above sixteen years of age, was about 19s. of their money, which is only one quarter part short of sterling value. Over and above all this, they paid their part of an excise that was laid upon tea, coffee, rum and wine, amounting to a very considerable sum. In a little time, the King's tribute must have been borrowed, and their lands pledged for it. Under these persecuting pressures, (contrived and exercised upon them by a despotic, blundering administration) was the stamp act attempted, which would have completed their ruin, and entirely swept away the little circulating cash that was then remaining. This representation may be relied on; I give it from undoubted authority.—Yet, the *able Antenor*, in his *hear-say* ignorant letters, asserts, that the colonies made no opposition on account of the tax itself, (I suppose he thought money was then so plenty amongst them) but from its being imposed by the *British* parliament, &c. &c.—O rare *Antenor*!—Thou art an able advocate!—A knowing fellow in *American* affairs!—Who can say a word more against the stamp act, when we are told from such *good authority*, that the colonists thought nothing about either the trouble or expence of it. Mr. *Pitt* said otherwise in the *English* House of Commons; and rationally rejoiced, that three
millions

millions of people would not be enslaved by it. Let us, therefore, be followers of them, who, through firmness and perseverance, now inherit the land of promise; and, inspired by a virtuous resolution, are determined to stand fast in the liberty wherewith their charters and valour have made them free.—Indeed, it is not probable that ever they will suffer themselves again to be entangled in bondage. And earnestly do I hope, that our *wise* ministry may never again reduce themselves to the *contemptible condition* of repealing arbitrary laws, or this same *bow-string, star-chamber* act, in a free country. Should our rulers attempt to carry this hurtful, slavish expedient into execution, it must be considered as a ministerial weapon, held to the throat of liberty. Should we suffer the divine goddesses to be wounded or banished, we shall be the scorn of the free and virtuous part of his Majesty's good subjects, and of all the glorious sons and daughters of freedom; nay, the very ministry themselves would despise us, and ever after look upon us as their political property, or the fit instruments of slavery. We should be, as it were, the very *dunghill cocks* of the community, tied to a *stake*, for any despotic governor to *pelt at*. In such an abject, unmanly state, despair would be our companion; cowardice and fear would seize upon us ;
we

we should be hated by ourselves, and cursed by a betrayed posterity.

To be free in thinking and acting ; to be able at all times to follow the calm counsels and determinations of the mind ; to sacrifice every interest and pleasure to integrity ; to cherish a sense of honour, and be invariably governed by it,—is the perfection of human nature ; will lead to glory and happiness, to the highest finishings of virtue, and to an immortality, in which persevering, triumphant virtue shall eternally flourish.—That the wretched *Antenor*, and all other enemies of their country, may repent, and in due time arrive at this happy state, is the sincere wish of,

HUMPHREY SEARCH.

LETTER

L E T T E R XLVI.

To the COMMITTEE for conducting the
FREE-PRESS.

To the P E O P L E.

*He plung'd for sense, but found no bottom there,
Yet wrote, and flounder'd on in mere despair.*

POPE.

GENTLEMEN,

June 12, 1773.

AND so the *stamp act* Antenor, (who first began to throw dirt, and now complains of invective) has been diving, for *reasons*, in the vast *profound* of science, but like the mountain *in labour*, has brought forth a *mouse*; and a *bare, misbapen* thing it is, without either head or tail, that I can discover. He has had a *clear stage* and fair play, but even the *dogmas* of Dennis, claim a preference to *ignorant assertions*, which come as near to the merits of the question, as the sound caused by a *cat* running over a harpsicord, does to a tune. Still, however, *harping* on the *news-papers*. The free-presses, I see, are sore *thorns* in the *sides* of some men. Twenty such scribblers as *Antenor*, will not be able to *pull* them out, or
gain

gain one *proclamation* to his employer. Like the *clown* in *Hamlet*, he has *confessed* himself, and by his reply, exhibits an ignorance in every thing relating to the *stamps*, news-papers and all; for in these (which he continues to *mumble* at) his calculations are false and superficial. As I suspected, he is an *old hack*, by being so soon foundered in argument. The *cast, court troop horses* are generally sent to auction (like the patriots in the *Mercury*) * I therefore hope this *lame recruit* (which was thought to be found) will, in a few days, be sent to the *Lower Castle-yard*, and set up with the other *black cattle* to the *biggest bidder*, as unfit for service. I must here observe, that if the government writers cannot answer the arguments against an *union* and *stamp act*, or *convince* the people that *such expedients* (in their present distressed state) are for their good; that should administration, by dint of power and number of *trained bands*, pass them into laws, it will
mark

* Hoey had the daring presumption, not long since, in one of his soporifick, leaden essays, to set up almost every respectable *nobleman* and *senator*, by name, (who had appeared on the side of liberty and their country) at *auction*. They were repeatedly abused in language, used only by the lowest dregs of the people. Perhaps there is not a printer in *England* or *Ireland* would have put his name to such publications; nor can we suppose he would have done so, had he not been screened by the then *high, low, ruling powers*.

mark them with despotism. The *surface-writer* Antenor, who began the attack, has not answered a single argument. Conscious of his *weakness*, or of being *unskilled* in the noble science of defence, he has avoided coming to close quarters, and has just given such a *reply* as I *prophefied* near the end of my first letter. But he has judiciously told us, "that the legislature would never assent to any imposition which the nation was unable to bear!" One of the *significant, eloquent coughs* of the *late facetious Counsellor Harward*, would be the best answer to so *barefaced a falsehood*. The five new *useless* commissioners; the four ditto *surveyors general*; one thousand pounds yearly salary to a *wine-bibber*; (tho' we have among us too many who do this without pay) the augmentation of the army and pension list, &c. &c. were all imposed, and are considered by the publick as a burthen, or as parliamentary recruits. Could any thing but the greatest ignorance and prostitution assert, that the nation is able to bear such dead weights to its treasure, its credit and commerce; the former often wantonly applied to the wages of corruption, the latter deeply *distressed*, and brought to the very brink of destruction by so many gross *impositions*! These plain facts fully shew, that the late writers in defence of administration, were
either

either quite unacquainted with the trade and revenues of the kingdom, or false and deceitful in their representations of these matters. I therefore trust, that after what has been said by the different writers on the side of liberty, (the truth of which is justified by present appearances) that whatever, in future, shall come from the *Mercury's polluted source*, (which hath so often poisoned us with pernicious recommendations and hurtful opinions) will be looked on with a *suspicious eye*, and treated with that *contempt* which plans and measures destructive to the liberty and prosperity of *Ireland*, must ever deserve. Having, at present, no antagonist to encounter, nor any arguments against what I have offered, to answer, the few flourishes I have set out with, will not, it is hoped, be deemed unnatural. A long *winded*, *grave* letter, without a few *excentrick flashes*, might become heavy to some readers, not *fond* of *close argumentation*. An *interlude* (as in this most excellent letter) introduced *here and there*, is very agreeable, and, in some sort, resembles the *chorus* of the *ancients* in their dramatic compositions. Having thus far *cleared my way*, I shall, (as the first *stamp act gladiator* seems vanquished) to save trouble hereafter, give an answer (I may say, from government authority itself, in a certain speech that is to follow) to all the defences that *ever have been*, or *ever will*

will be, of *stamp acts*; and I hope it will save writers of reputation the trouble of following signior *Antenor*, through those mists of error and ignorance in which he has *so far* lost himself. I heartily wish he may speedily emerge, and that the *light of truth* may *shine full* on his *benighted, political understanding*. To squire *Hoey* himself, as a *man and trader*, (when he shall keep within his own sphere) I sincerely hope — happiness and success; as his honest *father's son*, I wish this *particularly*; but as the *vehicle* through which *plans and measures* have been *proposed and defended*, that have nearly ruined *Ireland*, I despise and must oppose him, when he errs in this respect. In his *political capacity* alone have I condemned him.—Let us now proceed to business. We may in general observe, that should the stamp act and union take place, we might truly say, that here we *shall have no continuing city*. It is hoped, both for the honour of administration, and the public welfare, that no such hurtful schemes will be established in this kingdom. The *dignity and commerce of Great-Britain* have suffered deeply by the former; perhaps, what is worse, the loyalty and affection of those parts of her dominions that, in some *future period* promise to be so *great and powerful*, have been much affected by it. What strong prejudices must their youth (even children) have received
against

against the mother country, in hearing of the hardships, or in being witnesses to the oppressions exercised on their fathers, friends, neighbours and countrymen, by cruel governors. Children soon receive the tincture of dislike; they learn the language and sentiments of their parents; and being constant witnesses to their *discontents* and *distresses*, must naturally rivet in them a dislike to the *authors* of these *misfortunes*. Wretched policy! to alienate the affections of such who ought to be carefully trained up, in the loyal, loving ways they should go, that when they *are old*, and the full grown *subjects* of *Great-Britain*, they may not depart from them. Beside this, such attempts evidence great want of wisdom in a ministry, for they should never weaken the best customers *England* has, viz. the *Irish* and *Americans*. By a *suspension* in *commerce* with the latter, the *colonists* have been taught industry of a *new, increasing* kind. Their genius has been whetted and set to work, and their wants lessened. How much was rashly *risqued* for the sake of this *iniquitous, paltry tax*? By the avaricious attempt, the *English* manufacturers were soon thrown on the *poor's rate*, which ever since hath been vastly *increased*. The landed interest must support them, or they will perish. Thus by the vain hope of having a few pence in the pound, (at the expence of *America*, that had before been *overloaded*.)

loaded) they have saddled themselves with an additional *poor's rate*, of *ten times the amount*, besides the loss of their *confidence and business*, as formerly, and sowing the seeds of hatred and sedition. Sorry am I to say, that many recent, *striking appearances*, indicate *subsisting resentments*. These are grave truths: they cannot be rationally controverted. We may here safely affirm, that one *ill laid tax* generally raises others, and brings many evils in its train. In what has been asserted in these letters, I have Lords *Chatham* and *Camden*, the sense of the publick, and of all *free and wise commonwealths* on my side. We doubt not but when the evil intravailing nature of the stamp act is duly considered, with its various *enslaving consequences*, that some political converts will be made, who shall, in due season, *read their recantation* from the *errors* of the *Attorney gen—l's pocket*, in which (it is more than *whispered*) above one hundred *men in buckram* (ready to take the field in favour of said act) lie rolled up. Such must be considered as the *proscribers of liberty*, and that, by *previous consent*, their names must have been inserted. I wish there would be a publick drawing of them, (like the debentures) that one might see what *premium* or *insurance* they would bear. It may be truly called a *black list*. One would hardly think, that so

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many men of rank and fortune (as are amongst them) would suffer their names to be so disgracefully immured in, or sily edged out from said political pocket to be looked at, as decoy ducks, or as pledges of security for the passing of that devouring act. Such as are thus *pocketed* may, in the end, be *fobbed* off by their *constituents*, at the next general election, and instead of being returned *members* to represent them, may be deemed *enemies* to their country. Indeed all *proposers* and *abettors* of this arbitrary measure, and of all such *fettering*, *dangerous* *schemes*, should be looked upon as the professed *enemies* to Ireland, and *treated accordingly*. After the open, avowed declaration of government, in support of this vile law, which the *following speech* so *strikingly* exhibits, we should avoid all such *possible*, *direful* *operations* and *threatenings*, as we would the *pestilence* itself. We should look on all *defenders* and *defences* of such dreadful expedients, as carrying the fetters of slavery along with them, or as the *sounding brass* and *tinkling cymbal*. In this the *Americans* have set us a *noble example*.

WE have seen, in two former letters, the exhausted, depressed state of the colonies by war, and a *cruel, oppressive taxation*, before the *stamp act* was passed; consequently the unremitting,
political

political persecution they must have suffered, had they *tamely* submitted to its *extensive, enslaving, exorbitant operations*. That it may not be said I have *exaggerated* matters, in showing how absolutely our *liberties* and *properties* would be in the *power* of administration, should the stamp act be passed; or, that in consequence of a *non-compliance* with its *terms*, its *pains* and *penalties*, a suspension of publick business in our courts of *justice*, in the *revenue*, or different custom-houses, and a stoppage in commerce and navigation might take place, I have given an extract from the famous Governor Bernard's speech to the *Bostonians* and Co. on their refusing to comply with the numerous claims of that act. By which it will appear, that my apprehensions of a *complicated mischief* from it were not conjectural. The speech itself is as *despotic* as that of a *French Monarch* to his *passive, enslaved* subjects. Perhaps none but a *Bernard*, or some tool of government, who could *vote* in a question relating to their own emolument, or accept of a place at a *new, useless board*, in a time of publick *distress*, contrary to a *resolution* of the House of Commons, and the sense of the publick, could have had the *daring effrontery* to *threaten* and *insult* a free people. We cannot, on reading so *contemptible* an *harangue*, wonder at their petitioning to have

the tyrant recalled ; but his being permitted to depart in *peace*, records their *forbearance* and *moderation*. Had he even *fallen* through *public resentment*, we could not have said with Sir John Falstaffe, *there lies honour*. If he had not authority for delivering such *arbitrary sentiments*, he was a *traitor* to the *state*, an enemy to the *commerce* and *liberties* of his *country* and the *colonies*. But if he was authorized by administration so to speak, it glaringly exhibits the *weakness* and *despotism* of a *bungling ministry*, the *dangerous, extensive nature* of the act itself, and may shew us what we are to expect, should we (if the hateful law take place) resist its *various tyrannies*. The same *views* and *plan* of *power* are adopted by the present ministry, and *stamp* them with a *firm* attachment to the *prerogative*. The principal *leaders* and *contrivers* among them are almost the very *same*. The *rash, grasping Grenville* is indeed no *more*, but Lord North was his *pupil*. Shall we then prove *traitors* to *ourselves* and to *posterity*, by putting it in the power of such men, or of future evil rulers, to send another *Bernard* to *threaten* and *chastise* us ? Forbid it every good and friendly power ! Let us endeavour to prevent this, for it is an act too *controuling* and *profitable* ever to be repealed.

An Extract from Governor BERNARD's
Speech, at BOSTON, to the General As-
sembly, relating to the STAMP ACT, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

" I have called you together at this unusual time, that you may determine what is to be done, at this difficult and dangerous conjuncture. I need not recount to you the violences that have been committed in this town, nor the declarations which have been made, that the act of parliament for granting stamp duties, in the British colonies, shall not be executed within this province. I am sensible how dangerous it is, to speak out at this time upon this subject: but the right of the parliament of *Great-Britain*, to make laws for the *American* colonies, however it has been controverted in *America*, remains indisputable at *Westminster*. If it is yet to be made a question, who shall determine it but the parliament? If it declares that this right is inherent in them, are they likely to acquiesce in an open and forcible opposition to the exercise of it. Will they not more probably maintain such right, and support their own authority? Is it in the will or in the power, or for the interest of this province to oppose such authority? Will the denying the power

and authority of the King and parliament, be the proper means to obtain their favour! If the parliament should be disposed to repeal this act, will they probably do it, whilst there subsists a forcible opposition to the execution of it? Is it not more probable that they will require a submission to their authority, as a preliminary to their granting you any relief? By this act all papers which are not duly stamped are to be null and void, and all persons who shall sign, engross, or write any such papers, will forfeit for each fact, ten pounds. If therefore stamps are not to be used, all publick offices must be shut up. I would therefore desire you to consider, what effects the stopping of two kinds of offices only, the courts of justice and the custom-house, will have upon the generality of the people? When the courts of justice are shut up, no one man will be able to sue for a debt due to him, or an injury done to him. Must not then all credit and mutual faith cease of course, and fraud and rapine take their place? Will any one's person or property be safe, when their sole protector, the law, is disabled to act? Must not the hand of violence be then let loose, and force of arms become the only governing power? Is it easy to form an adequate idea of a state of general outlawry? And may not the reality exceed

exceed the worst idea you can form of it? If trade and navigation shall cease, by the shutting up the ports of this province, for want of legal clearances, are you sure that all other ports, which can rival these, will be shut up also? Can you depend upon recovering your trade again entire, when you shall be pleased to resume it? Can the people of this province subsist without navigation for any long time? What will become of the seamen who will be put out of employment? Of the tradesmen, who immediately depend on navigation for their daily bread? Will these people endure want quietly, without robbing their neighbours? What will become of the numberless families that depend upon fishery? Do you think it possible to provide for the infinite chain of the dependants upon trade, who will be brought to want by the stopping of it? Is it certain that this province has a stock of provisions within itself, sufficient for all its inhabitants, without the usual imports? In short, can this province bear a cessation of law and justice, of trade and navigation, at a time when the business of the year is to be wound up, and the severe season is hastily approaching? These are serious and alarming questions, which deserve a cool and dispassionate consideration. I would not wil-

lingly aggravate the dangers that are before you. This province seems to be on the brink of a precipice, and that it depends on you to prevent its falling. Possibly I may fear more for you than you do for yourselves; but I do not pretend to enumerate all the evils which may possibly happen: Several will occur to you, though they have been omitted by me. In a word, gentlemen, never were your judgment and prudence so put to a trial, as they are likely to be on the present occasion."

Part of Governor BERNARD's Speech to the BOSTONIANS and Co. (after the STAMP ACT was passed) paraphrased.

GENTLEMEN,

THE times are critical; and having something new and interesting to lay before you, I have called ye together earlier than usual. I need not tell you of the old republican spirit that reigns in this and in other provinces, of the violences that have been committed in consequence of it, nor of the daring declarations ye have made, that the *salutary, constitutional* act of parliament for granting *stamp duties* in the *British* colonies shall not be peaceably executed amongst you. In other words, that ye will
resist

resist the ordinances of Heaven in this matter, for ye know, that according to scripture, the ruling powers (that are over you *for good*) are such. I do not say, that government has a *divine right*—to *play the devil*—No: but only that a *King* being the Lord's anointed, has a legal claim to your submission in most cases, especially where the good of the state is concerned, and that he himself must be the best judge of this. I am sensible that the speaking one's mind freely, at this time, is a *service of danger*: But though you may vainly imagine, that ye ought to be ruled by laws, made *with your own consent*, or be *represented* before ye are *taxed*, (like other *British* subjects) yet let me tell you, that all this is but mere rant and frothy declamation; for the *English* parliament has a power to *tax* or *make laws*, *binding* on you at pleasure. This is *indubitable* at *Westminster*, nor is there one of the ministry that will dispute it. Let this at once *convince* and shew you, the danger and folly of all *resistance* in this matter: For who, but his Maj—ty or the parliament can be the proper judges? If this be their opinion, can ye imagine that they will acquiese in your denying their right over you? Or notice your *puny remonstrances* against the exercising of it, in the amplest manner? Would not your rashly doing so, rather *provoke*

to *violence*, than induce to forbearance or clemency? Have ye either force sufficient, or is it for your interest to oppose principalities and powers, and draw the *thunder* of *Great-Britain* upon *America*? Suppose, for your disobedience to this excellent law, they should let loose twenty or thirty thousand regular troops amongst you, what *havock* and *ravages* would they commit? Would they not soon plunder and lay waste your provinces? Or suppose they should *bumble* your *big* spirits, by dispatching from the mother country (from which your *turbulence* originally made you emigrate) fifty or sixty *ships* of the line to *watch* your *coasts*, destroy your trade and navigation, *block* up your harbours or lay your towns in *ashes*,—what would you think of yourselves then, and your haranguing politicians, that somented you to such *provoking provocations*? Should the legislature hereafter be disposed to relax in some things, or even to *repeal* the stamp act, (of which ye have formed so dreadful an idea) can ye think this will be done whilst so many hostile appearances and preparations are going forward? Can ye foolishly imagine, that the *dignity* of *Great-Britain* will stoop to wheedle or coax such refractory aliens (I had almost said, the *scum* of *Britons*) from the bosom of the common-wealth? No! They will require an
absolute

absolute submission to their authority, as a preliminary to their granting you any relief. Some of you, perhaps, are strangers to the nature of this new law : I shall therefore give you a few outlines of it, that ye may be the better judges of its design and tendency. That ye may not, in future, fall under its *pressures* and *penalties* : KNOW, that all *law proceedings*, mortgages, settlements, assignments, contracts, grants, patents, deeds ; all *mercantile papers*, policies, clearances, insurances, indentures, certificates, bonds, debentures, &c. &c. must be *legally stamped* and *paid for*. — As must all newspapers, and the prices of advertising raised. The *printer's name* and *place of abode* to be affixed at full length, that we may know not only what *manner of spirit* he *shall be of*, but how to deal with him according to law, should he politically transgress, or exercise those *wholesome severities*, so necessary to prevent a dangerous *licentiousness* in publications. I must further inform you, that any deeds, writings, &c. &c. as above specified, that shall not be on stamped papers, are to be *null and void* ; that the *engrossers* and *signers* of such are to forfeit for each offence, ten pounds sterling ; or should you refuse to use and pay for such stamps, I must further tell you, that all public offices must be *shut up* ! For the *wisdom* and *penetration*

tion

tion of government, knowing your turbulent tempers, were resolved to pass an act, that would keep you *under their thumb*, or restrain your restless disposition, by having, in some measure, your liberties and properties *in their own keeping*, or rather at their command, by interrupting not only *commerce* and *navigation*, but even the course of justice itself, should you resist *their legal authority*. This being the case, I would, as a friend advise you (*under the rose*, though in this publick manner) well to consider, what would be the consequences of *shutting up the courts of justice*, (where so many causes may be depending) and the offices connected with them, as likewise the custom-house, and every office belonging to *trade* and *navigation*! In such a general suspension and stagnation, should any one *break your head*, or *owe you money*, ye could neither sue or get him punished, unless you either *kicked* or *knocked him down* yourselves! If your resentment happen to fall on a *judge*, a *King's officer*, or other great men, you might (when things came round again) be exposed to much trouble and expence. In such a *hurly-burly* situation all faith and credit must cease. *Fraud*, *rapine* and *scolding*, would universally take place. But indeed, gentlemen, both your *persons* and *purses* would be endangered, when their *sole protection*, the *law itself*, shall

shall be disabled to act in their defence. Must not the *band of violence*, or in other words, the *red-coats* or *English bull-dogs*, be then let loose upon you, and force of arms become the only governing power! Dreadful! (in such a case) to *cry havoc*, and *let slip the dogs of war*! Who can form an adequate idea of the *dangers* and *damages* your liberties and properties, your *wives*, *sisters* and *daughters* would be exposed to, in such a state of *general outlawry*, or *free-booting operations* and *manœuvres*! If the *trade* and *navigation* of the province shall thus cease, by shutting up its ports, by stopping the legal *clearances* for shipping, or sousing you as the principal offenders, will ye not be both vexed and discomfited to see other ports *open*, and yours *blocked up*? When your trade shall be transferred to commercial rivals, will ye, after your penitential submissions, or going, (as it were) on your *marrow-bones* to government, (when too late) be able to bring it back? Every body knows, that ye must *fish*, *navigate*, or *starve*: That if your seafaring men be not constantly employed, they will support themselves and families (by force) on the community at large. Your pillaged country will be unable to provide for such a *chain of dependants* upon trade, nor will any one pity your obstinacy, when ye have preferred this *ransacking* prospect

prospect to the admitting the *gentle restraint* of a *legal stamp act*, or, as I may say, this *small, golden link*, in the political chain of government, which will always secure you its *protection*, and effectually destroy those high flown notions of liberty and independence, which *annihilate* a due *respect* to the *ruling powers*. I am sensible, that this province has a stock of provisions within itself sufficient for all its inhabitants. But when *the army* shall be *billeted* upon you; when the *sailors or Hearts of Oak*, like locusts, shall swarm around you, and live at *free quarters* in your most *fertile plantations*, your provisions, let me tell you, will be both scarce and dear: But suffer who may, his Majesty's servants and troops, shall not want what this country can afford them. In short I would just ask the stoutest of you, can this country subsist without *law or justice*, trade and navigation, all which (by the *stamp act* having been passed) the government can legally *stop* the *course* of at pleasure. If, therefore, a quiet and peaceable behaviour be not observable amongst you, in future, the *holders* of these *stamps* may be instructed (in order to bind you to your good behaviour) to with-hold them from all such as have been, or may be, *ringleaders* in *sedition*, and shall at any time, *kick* against the *lawful pricks* of government. This will, in time, ensure loyalty

alty to his Majesty, and a ready submission to
 the orders of administration, which is one great
 design of this necessary law. I appeal to your-
 selves, if these are not *serious* and *alarming* con-
 siderations. Consider them coolly and dispa-
 sionately, for the law being now passed, your
bellowing for *liberty*, your *rants* for that *inde-*
pendence, (the vain phantom of which has so
 long lead you astray) can now *avail nothing*
 to your relief. At present ye may be compared
 to a large *fish*, with a strong, well-fastened hook
 in its mouth, which may *bounce* and *flounder*,
 or trouble the waters for awhile, but must soon
 be spent, and dragged to the shore of submission.
 Though I have told you enough, in all consci-
 ence to let ye see your danger, yet, believe me,
 gentlemen, I have not aggravated matters *rela-*
ting to this act. Ye are now brought to the
 brink of a precipice: It depends on you to save
 yourselves, by complying with this useful law;
 for ye are so much in the power of government
 by it, that they could push you over, almost
 with their *little finger*. Ye have hitherto been
 so head-strong, and given me so much plague
 and vexation, that I doubt not, at this moment,
 but my *qualms* and *fears* are greater than yours.
 Though I have said enough to open your eyes,
 yet I have not told you all I know; nor shall
 I, at this time, pretend to enumerate the evils
 that

that may follow your non-submission to the *stamp act*. In thinking on so extensive a *mode of taxation*, many particulars omitted by me, will, no doubt, occur to your own thoughts. In a word, gentlemen, I don't know that ever ye were in a more *perilous situation*, or in which your penetration and judgment, your magnanimity and *finances*, your *prudence* and *purses*, have been put to so severe a trial, as they are likely to be on the present occasion.

THERE is little in the above paraphrase, but what is *implied* in the speech itself. When one considers the noble stand, the constitutional resistance made against it; the mean shift to which administration was reduced by so ill-judged, avaricious an attempt; when we reflect how the dignity and *commerce* of *Great-Britain* suffered by it, with the repeal of the *act*, and the *triumph* of the *Americans*, the speech, at this time, appears not only amusing, but one of the most contemptible pieces of *effrontery* and *despotism* that hath for many years been exhibited. Even a *Townsbend* would not have spoke it to the *conquered Canadians*! Be this as it may, all *these things have happened for ensamples*, and are written for our *admonition*, on whom *the end of our privileges is likely to come*! The above alarming speech was framed and spoken

spoken under the sanction of the same *Mon—rch*, and almost the *same ministry* that now *rule over us*. Should the stamp act pass into a law in *Ireland*, they may at any time (when displeased with our conduct) speak to us in the same *threatening strain*. I do not absolutely say they would, but shall a wise and true people put it into the power of any of their *first servants* to become, in a manner, *masters* of their liberties and properties? We should, perhaps, ill brook such scolding language. I *speak as unto wise men, judge what I say*. Indeed, had we neither an enormous national debt, nor a *devouring, beggarly pension list* to groan under, and clog our commerce and revenues: Nay, had we a patriotic ministry, and the kingdom in the most flourishing condition, I will assert, (even with these *phænomena*) that such a law should be rejected by us with *abhorrence*. Our *dignity and importance* as men, our *liberty and happiness*, with the freedom and independence of parliament, would all be deeply affected, if not, in some respects, destroyed by it. I have given an extract from this *famous, infamous speech*, because it is truly of the *stamp act kind*. It exhibits in strong colours a venal, arbitrary administration, and, at the same time, marks the *executioner of their orders* as the very *butcher of liberty*, as a *tool and tyrant* of the most despicable

ble kind. If such *interesting* considerations shall not rouse our *vigilance*, or raise our resentment against being so *enslaved*, or lying at the mercy of future (perhaps) mercenary governors, we may at length come under the *galling yoke* of an arbitrary domination, and be insulted at pleasure. *He that bath ears to hear, let him now hear.*

HUMPHREY SEARCH.

P. S. The author of the above letter would willingly take a peep at the *letters patent*, appointing the five new commissioners, contrary to a resolution of the House of Commons. He will thank any of the five *patentees*, or any other persons, for one of said letters just to look at, as he thinks it might make a *good paraphrase*: by which the *legality* or *validity* of the letters themselves; the *services*, *pretensions*, *powers*, and various duties of those *excise patentees*, might be more fully ascertained than they seem to be at present. If left, directed to *H. Search*, at the Free-press offices, either at *Audoen's-Arch*, or in *Meath-Street*, they will be safely received, and returned immediately.

LETTER

L E T T E R XLVII.

To the COMMITTEE for conducting the
FREE-PRESS.

To the P E O P L E.

*The constitution's still intended,
Like an old kettle to be mended;
And tinker politicians do,
By stopping one hole up,—make two.*

Collection Poems.

XENOPHON and CÆSAR wrote their own commentaries: The late Dutchess of Marlborough, Con. Philips, and Mrs. Pilkington, did the same. Our Hibernian stands before the other heroines, in the ranks of fame, in the republick of letters, where *station* is not supposed to influence the judgment. She had quick feelings, and a lively fancy, which the Levite, her shepherd, had increased and fomented, by practising, as a son of Apollo. It is, however thought, that had these been skilfully directed and managed, she might have proved a very agreeable companion: But the *sourness* and solemnity of the priest, applied to the correcting
of

of a romantick, youthful imagination, or the enthusiasm of love and friendship, made things worse ; yet it is probable, that *had he used all gently*, or led her with the hand of *delicacy and discretion*, much mischief and unhappiness would have been avoided. We shall, at present pass over the numerous tribes of raw, undigested *memoir composers*,—of *adventure* and *letter* writers, of luscious *novel makers* and *novel mongers*, who delight in the *incredible* and *marvellous*, and for whose wild fancies nothing seems too great, or highly enough seasoned. But we heartily wish that the *Irish* mock patriots, who *strutted* and *bellowed*, and acted *under the rose*, in the years 1752 and 1753, with some *modern pretenders*, who have since figured in the political world ; who have *elevated* themselves and *surprised* others, would give us the real motives to their *political conversion*, or change of *sides* and *sentiments*, and how often they have piously meditated on the *scale of advancement*, their *views* and *virtues* being of the *progressive* kind. This, if fairly given, would prove a very delectable performance, and save the news-paper historian much trouble, in conjecturing and searching out. They need then only *correct*, *enlarge*, and *embellish* a little. Such an history is the more to be desired, as it might help to rescue the venerable name of *patriot*, from that *diffidence* and
contempt,

contempt, which for twenty years it hath lain under, by the baseness and treachery of *mock professors*. This is a hard cate, as the man who is really in earnest in the service of his country, is secretly *squinted* at, or when he asserts the rights of the people, it is often said, that he is only making them the step-ladder to advancement. This opinion is artfully spread by selfish, designing men, the badness of whose hearts makes them think *disinterested virtue*, or a *person proof against temptation*, a *chimerical character*. Such professed parricides we shall, for the present, leave to the *thorns that in their bosom lodge*, to *goad and sting* them. No doubt, great cause has been given for such *diffidence* and *infidelity*, by the behaviour of some *right honourable* or *dishonourable*, and other apostates, who have set up their *persons* and *powers*, in the way of *private sale*, to the highest bidders. Notwithstanding this, we must not judge of the present state of patriotism, by the past prostitution of it. Our situation now, is very different from what it was formerly. We have likewise had some instances of *sincerity*, of *interests* sacrificed to a *sense of honour*, *unequalled*, and not to be *controverted*. Let us look a little into this matter, impartially. In doing which we shall sometimes illustrate our argument from the drama, *all the world being a stage*; each
man

man, in his life, playing many parts. In 1753, we had political leaders and drivers, of great age, experience and cunning, with a dash of seeming honesty, artfully mixed, along with some attracting qualities. Tho' at that period, we had three Kings of Brentford, two of them did the principal business; with different views, claims, prerogatives, forces and monopolies of government. One of them, (the favourite of the viceroy) by a smooth, insinuating address, and gentleness of deportment, joined to the contempt of money, when it stood in the way to power, had great influence, and a powerful party to support his ambitious projects. In him (however new or uncommon) were united a spiritual and temporal primate. He, at length, became the corner stone in politicks, and had more than laid the foundation of a despotick administration: The superstructure was considerably advanced, when death at once levelled this pious projector, with all his airy plans, and left a feeling conviction of the folly and vanity of all such evil attempts in this free country. Old Roger was the antagonist power, or muscle, in the body politick, to this enterprizing ecclesiastick. He was captain general of the trained bands; had under him a numerous artillery, and commanded troops that had been tried, and could be depended on in the day of battle. Beside this,

this, he had some sage advisers for his privy-counsellors, particularly his favourite,—*Carter*, who had played *Tom Folt* and *Colonel Oldboy* to perfection. All these formed a *phalanx* of *patriotism*, almost impregnable. They had an implicit confidence in their leader's wisdom and integrity, which indeed was the more surprising, as he had *played some pranks* before, and *jobbed* for government, when his interest and designs were promoted by so doing. But he was then in possession of power, had places to bestow, or rather *feed their hopes* with, and reward real *services*. The *harvest* was great, and the *labourers* many. Such as were *slow in apprehension* and *dim sighted*, or whose love to their country floated only in their imaginations, had their sight and judgments cleared, and their virtue strengthened, by arguments that generally proved *irresistible*. They were not, then, liable to be carried away, by every wind of doctrine, having received temporal confirmation. They carried about with them an *endowed patriotism*, which did not, like the *morning cloud*, or *early dew*, soon pass away, for it outlived that of their mercenary general. The said gentle primate, by some *loaves and fishes*, which he likewise had in keeping, lessened the authority of *Roger*, and caused some of his troops to desert. This made him *Boyle* over with resentment,

ment, and he set about weakening the interest of the *gentle shepherd*, and sounded an alarm of his ambitious designs.—This, with the opposition given to the grand *political heresy*—of *previous consent*, and *roasting an ignorant, venal Surveyor General* (who was singled out to try the strength of the parties on) soon made him ascend to the *heights* of popularity, where he for some time basked in the sun-shine of *fortune, fame, and publick honours*: Had *verses, boxes, addresses, thanks, congratulations, and terms of peace*, all presented or sent to him in a few days. His effigies were every where erected, and the *revenue and French* interest were both increased by *bumpers* to his health, inso-much that one would have thought, his glory at least, would have been immortal. But let not the *wise man glory in his cunning*; we all know what happened: *Anathema's*—followed the *addresses, curses the congratulations,—libels, the verses, the boxes were regretted, and wished for back again*; the *effigies inverted*, and *confusion* drank to all *betrayers* of their country. But before these things came to pass—Lo—he was so intoxicated with *praise*, and *apprehended patriotism*, that he began to think he was almost sincere; and assumed an high title, which he was unable to keep up, viz. that of the *honest man*. Nay, he not only deceived himself, but what is

more

more, *Tom Jolt*, the *Carter*, who had so long acted *Volpone*, with success, and grown grey in the wiles of court intrigue, and state merchandize. But Roger at length performed *Vizard* so naturally, and played so often in court masques, that he deceived even the elect in politics, and entangled numbers in his net. The madness of many, for the gain of a few, soon appeared after the arrival of the Marquis of *Hartington*, who proved the very butcher of patriotism. He acted—*Puzzle*, *Sly*, *Tamper*, and *Lord Lurewell*, so admirably, that he almost laughed us out of our virtue, and we could scarcely be angry at him. He was, however, of the good old stock. The principles of liberty were predominant in him, and so strongly guarded by a sense of honour, that he afterwards, in a manner, fell a sacrifice to it. I need say little more of our friend Roger, and as how (as the *English* phrase it) he first flung himself into the saddle of government, and was at last thrown aside, as *lumber*, in the House of Lords; or of his son, Sir *Politick Would-be*, and his late apostacy; are they not all written in my *chronicles* of the *Lords Lieutenants* of this kingdom, soon to be published and enlarged? But before I take leave of our trusty and well-beloved Roger, I must observe, that in his younger days he had acted *Squire Tankard*, *Sir Harry*

Foxchase, and *Henry Beagle* with great applause; after which he performed in the character of *Jostle* to admiration, and got such a smack of jockeyship in the country, as he never could get rid of afterwards. But, as I was before saying, we must not judge of the present state of patriotism by the past prostitution of it. These things happened to *us* by *ensamples*, on whom an *union*, a *land-tax*, a *stamp-act*, with the *revival* of a *convocation*, &c. are likely to come. The three former are big with every mischief to this kingdom. King *George I.* of *wise* and *steady* memory, found the latter so destructive to religious and civil liberty, and to farther improvements in knowledge, that he, with the hearty consent and thanks of every well-wisher to a *free inquiry after truth*, and the interests of a rational religion, prevented the fitting of an *English convocation*, who had intended to have called a *Clarke*, a *Hoadley*, and other such ornaments to their profession, before them, for standing fast in the liberty wherewith *pure, original christianity* had made them free; and farther saith not, about said *pious convocation*, and its *wholesome severities* at present; but go on to observe, that at the period of the *grand defection* in 1753, a chief governor was rather a *prompter* than an *actor*; sometimes he could neither get them to *speak* what he told them,

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nor to perform the parts assigned them. The Lords Justices were, in fact, the *managers*. The Viceroy acquiescing with their advice or opinions, and recommending to the King for preferment, such men as they told him were necessary; to let the business of the crown go on quietly through the *house*, or expedite a *well-garnished money-bill* (which said men were generally the creatures of their power, or ready for the word of command) was the usual foundation of an easy, good-humoured session. His having, in the speech, gone through the usual forms, or expressing his regard for poor *Ireland*, his good wishes for the prosperity of the Charter-schools, and Linen-manufacture, and his *subscribing* to the *terms*, or *certain articles* proposed to him by the said Justices, intitled him to their support, this being deemed a sufficient *test* of political orthodoxy, or soundness in the faith. When the money bill had passed, he thought himself snug, and if things ran smooth, had a handsome gratification, when barrack repairs and arms, &c. were wanting, or *forts* and *harbours* to be enlarged and strengthened. But, notwithstanding this, our Chief governors were looked upon but as *sojourners* and *pilgrims* here, for about six months in the two years: Two of the *King-managers* generally did the business, and marked out the *characters* his Majesty's ser-

vants were to act under them. It was no wonder, in such circumstances, that treachery in a principal leader should have caused a general rout, and brought even the cause into contempt. But that can never again be the case; *former things are passed away, and all things are become new*: The *collected, steady virtue* of the *Commons*, with the active vigilance and support of the *people*, will ever prove a *strong tower* of defence against the machinations of evil ministers, or dark, designing viceroys. When this shall be the case, the apostacy of any one or two men, can never essentially break a firm, patriotic force; nor can we, in future, lose our liberty and rights but through our own *treachery and corruption*: We cannot be so basely *jilted* as formerly. If true to ourselves, the *desertion* of a few mercenary troops can never again throw us into the same disorder; nor shall any commanders here, be able to draw all men after them: They may have the *gift of tongues*, but if not accompanied with that of *places*, their oratory will not prove overbearing, nor *flash conviction* on the *gainsayers*: But, beside this, many of our present senators are pure and unfulfilled in their characters; they have never forfeited the confidence of the people; but, on the contrary, have given the most satisfying proofs of their unalterable attachment to their country's

try's welfare, by sacrificing *riches, honours, places and preferments* to it; by opposing such as could have rewarded their defection, or withstanding bribes and temptations, repeatedly offered, when the publick prosperity would have been endangered by their compliance. They gloriously opposed *principalities and powers*, and nothing but the laying down life itself seems to be wanting, as a further proof of their sincerity. The noble firmness, and virtuous disdain of a *Penfonby* and a *Newenham*, are striking instances of this; and before any wretched sophister shall pretend to explain away such uncommon virtues, as must have prompted to and supported them under such expensive sacrifices, (the latter, particularly, with a large family, and a comparatively small fortune) *let him go and do likewise. Virtue* is too divine a form to be laughed at; she will ever rise superiour to the severest ridicule, nor can any *venal, vicious attempts*, lessen *her dignity and importance*.

(To be concluded in our next.)

L E T T E R XLVIII.

To the COMMITTEE for conducting the
FREE-PRESS.

To the P E O P L E.

*The constitution's still intended,
Like an old kettle to be mended;
And tinker politicians do,
By stopping one hole up,—make two.*

Collection Poems.

(Concluded from our last.)

I N 1753, the *Primate* and *Roger Boyle*, who fought nearly with equal forces, made some *new creations*, or what may be called *fugitive, transitory patriots*, who like other good christians, looked to the *recompence* of reward. They allowed that virtue, like a *fair and good wife*, ought to be chosen and loved on her own account, but that her *intrinsic worth* or *value* would not be lessened by a *suitable dowry*. This was clear reasoning, and these political generals having *places* and *preferments* to back their arguments, they had, as it were,
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the *wills*, the *opinions*, and *consciences* of several members in safe keeping, which they could draw forth and use, as *occasions* required. The consequence was, that when *Roger* deserted to the enemy, the troops were left exposed, and in the wreck of patriotism (like seafaring-men) the *mercenaries* looked chiefly to their own safety, and were resolved to take care of themselves, happen what would. Every man for himself, and God *for us all*, seemed to have been their *motto*, and they stuck by it most religiously. Their late *retainer* well knew their different views, and the *specifick quantity* of *worth* that each *possessed* to a *very scruple*; he knew by what means their oratorical powers could be *hushed* or *exerted*, and what price every man's virtue or corruption would bear; he accordingly gave information thereof to the new *generalissimo*, who immediately inlisted, and took them *into pay*, where some of them remain in *warm head quarters* to this day! Amid such treachery it cannot appear strange, that such a dreadful scatterment ensued, and that all *opposition* lay *strangled* before such *determined force* and *prostitution*: A new *back-stairs cabal* took place; *patriotism* was *exiled* and *disgraced*; all by the *apostacy* of *one man*, whose supposed worth and honour had been *pledged* a *thousand times* to his friends and the publick, as a *security*

for his good *behaviour*; but he proved a *bankrupt* in *sincerity*, and *all was lost*; his price was come up to; his *honour* had been *mortgaged*, and the *foreclosure* for his *virtue* met with no *opposition*. He was, after all, but a dear purchase to government, or rather to the *publick*, who have yet, for several *years*, to pay for his *betraying* their *interests*. Can it now be wondered at, that the people, seeing themselves *bought* and *sold* (or rather their rights and privileges) by *venal Judas's*, to whom they had given their confidence, should have got the *heart-scald* of *patriotism*, and looking upon the *whole set* as attempting to play in the *characters* of *Cheatty* and *Scramble*; especially as different *scouts*, devoid of all principle, were industriously sent about, to laugh at all notions of publick spirit, or love to a country, and to represent *disinterested virtue* as a thing *out of nature*, and *chimerical*. By such *ways* and *means*, I fear, publick confidence has not the same deep root as formerly, and that a *real patriot* is still looked upon as a *problematical character*. For this reason I have been the more particular in this little *history* of *facts*, and in shewing how different our present situation is to what it was in 1753; but besides what has been mentioned, and the alteration in the mode of government in this kingdom, (which I trust will keep us from
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what may be called *wholesale work*, or a *general defection*) the Octennial bill will prove a strong *barrier* against all such hateful confederacies. The *wages* of *iniquity* and *prices* of *corruption* will fall of course, because a shorter service is required; nor will it be in the power of any man (except a Chief Governor, by a *bocus pocus metamorphosis*) to have the command in the House of Commons. Getting into Parliament, formerly, might almost be considered as a *seat for life*. We can never again see 33 years of established *jobbing* and *corruption*: Wickedness, *now*, cannot become so *hereditary*; and should a glorious struggle in England bring about triennial parliaments, we should feel the happy effects of it in Ireland, for it would add to the advantages we already enjoy by the *octennial form*, which contains 5 years too many, could it be helped, but tis well its no worse. *Long Parliaments* are the very elements for despotism and corruption, and should, by every constitutional means, be laid aside. Were we free from our fears of an *union*, a *land-tax*, and *stamp-act*; were our encreasing national debt soon to be reduced, or the pension list brought down to a legal *standard*; were plans of economy adopted; the civil and military establishments lessened; some useless boards laid aside, and the five illegal commi-

oners disbanded, we should then learn, in whatsoever good state we may be, *therewith* to be content. There are, perhaps, at present, wolves going about in *sheep's cloathing*, seeking whom they may inveigle or devour ; but I hope none such will get into our inclosures. A grand, recent *apostacy* has been seen in these later days. From Sir Henry Beagle the evil seems to have ran in the blood, and his son and, heir who at first promised well, in the parts of Sir *Politick Would-be*, and *Squire Somebody*, played the *apostate* soon after, and was purchased by our late manager, the *drunken Colonel*, (as was reported) without either an high price, or much *prigging*. Should an union take place, it is thought he is now so much to be depended upon, and his wisdom and virtues so *full blown*, that he will be one of the 16 *peers* to represent this *kingdom*, and his *other* laid aside brother *peers* in the British Parliament ; to which said *union*, it is whispered the people of Corke will consent, provided *their primum mobile*, the little Serjeant, shall make one of the 50 *commoners*, to be allowed to, and *parcelled out for us*. Ireland is surely very much obliged to the metropolis of Munster for so patriotic a choice of members, and such a ready piece of condescension. The *All-nager* surely deserves 500 a year additional for bringing previous *consent* into play again. Thus we

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see some are making continual sacrifices to their own paltry interests, at the expence of their country, and seem to be fitter for *scramblers* than *senators*. Some *coalition colts* are likewise appearing at the Castle, who used to *snort and kick at court regalia*. Some old hunters it is rumoured, are in full *chace* after *new game*, lately *started*, without considering that an aged traitor to his country, is, of all others, the most melancholy and hateful object. *Death* only can stop such in their head-long *career* of *avarice* and *treachery*. An old *debauchee*, though a most miserable *human ruin*, is neither so offensive or hurtful as an old state sinner grown grey, in the serpentine *wiles* and *windings* of corruption. He is *like a city broken down and without walls*, through which *clean* and *unclean* may pass at pleasure. The mischief done by the latter, is much more aggravated and extended, —consequently his future state, of *purgation* and *punishment* will be greater. But tho' human *weakness* and *wickedness*, are so apparent in the history of the world, yet he that doth *righteously*, is *righteous*. *Virtue* is *eternal* and *unalterable*, what alone giveth real, lasting fame,—*solid, permanent glory* and *happiness*. And there have been many instances of most heroic, disinterested greatness of mind; not only particular interests sacrificed, but life itself given

given up, rather than *forfeit integrity*, or see free states and countries enslaved. There are numerous instances of the truth of this, in *ancient story*; and the illustrious names of *Hampden, Russel, Sidney*, with several others, in modern times, fully evince their being thoroughly in earnest in the *great and honourable work of liberty*, or the severe, arduous toils of the most *hazardous patriotism*. This we assert, in opposition to what has been *slavishly and falsely* said, by Sir John Dalrymple, the *Scotch politician*, (*but only filtered through him from Hume*), to please such men as Bute, Mansfield and Company. His *new and wonderful discovery*—that *Russel and Sidney were villains*, will transmit his *name*, his *candour*, his *attachment to the cause of liberty*, and his *liberal sentiments*, with *admiration to posterity*. Indeed, if we cannot *feel*, and be properly *affected*, in contemplating such characters, (in whom the great *divinity of virtue itself*, shone forth so conspicuously) we have not the least *glimpse* of the subject before us;—and is a shrewd sign of a *callous, corrupt heart*. Such illiberal sentiments are, I trust, but seldom heard amongst us. Designing men, devoid of publick virtue, feed with pleasure on the reports of great men's errors, or the defection of patriots, and actively propagate them, with many additions and falsehoods. Against

gainst all such *Misanthropes* and *parricides*, let us be on our guard. They are the *pests* of society, and *panders* to *corruption*. We have seen how different our state now is, from what it was in 1753.

IN that busy period, when the most despotick measures had been adopted, the most *servile, illegal* compliances resolved on, there was one found among the *faithless—faithful*: I mean Lord Kildare, the *Duke of Leinster*. He then played *Down-right* and *Marcourt*, with universal applause, and is still *great* in these favourite characters. His virtue was attempted in 1752, when the *pioneers* for government were levelling the *barriers* of *patriotism*, and tearing up the *fences* of the constitution by the roots. In the offers then sent to him, were these words; “My Lord, be with us against the country, and you shall name your price. Look into every profession, and consider whom you would have at the head of it.” But he was *impeccable*; his *virtue* was *founded on a rock*, nor could the *Gates* of the *Castle*, and all its *artillery*, prevail against it. Neither was his merit confined to a *mere negative honesty*, for impelled by the noblest, patriotic views, and the most generous motives, he boldly addressed his *Sovereign*, and presented to him a *memorial*, containing *truths*, that could not be
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controverted, and the grievances of this unhappy country, of which he has ever since been the stedfast friend. *Dorset*, the then venal viceroy, and all the court *yelpers*, called this an unprecedented attack upon government; (the usual cant of fawning *parasites* and *prostitutes*) they were, no doubt, surprized by the suddenness, and uncommon greatness of the *manœuvre*: It was not *formal* nor *regular enough*, to be either *prevented* or *guarded properly against*: The whole party were disconcerted: The King's eyes and ears were opened. Lord Holderness's letter, (who was then Secretary of state) as well as the Duke of Dorset's, to the then Lord Chancellor, shew the influence and excellence of the memorial (*now in my custody*.) His Grace of Dorset owns the facts to be strongly stated; and the Secretary's letter is penned with the greatest caution and respect. We learn from hence, what even one *virtuous, determined* nobleman can do, when in earnest in the cause of liberty, and thoroughly attached to the interests of his country. The Marquis of Kildare, our present representative in parliament, has given the fairest proofs of the same disinterested regards to the prosperity of Ireland. Tho' but a young actor, he has already appeared with becoming dignity, and the highest approbation, in the characters of *Well-bred*,
Bottom,

Bottom, Trusty, and Constant. Indeed, our confidence in this family, is now, *full and confirmed*—and it is strange that neither their example nor precepts, can *work* Squire Conolly's *conversion*, or give him the *new political birth*. He had acted so *riotously* in politicks, and is so taken up in playing the characters of *Fox-chace, Bowser, Slender, and Bubbleboy*, that some say, it will be long before he will attempt performing characters of dignity and importance. I need hardly mention the loss sustained by the *defection*, or sliding conduct of a *Malone*, who with all his powers, abilities, and commanding eloquence, was never *great, happy, or esteemed*. He *meanly received* from government, a *precedence at the bar*—which he *held*, in *right of himself*, without so glaring an *affront*—and like an old pack horse, who has *lost his mettle*, will pace on in court trammels to the grave. But his great parts and accomplishments, have been long since buried. The *desertion* of the *Gores*, with *other mock heroes*, who stood ready for a market; how they were *stripped* of their *fame*, and received, as usual, the *stripes* of conscience, I have mentioned on another occasion—and shall therefore hasten from such scenes of complicated treachery.

WE have, at present, on the side of liberty, men, whose virtue has been tried, and come forth as *pure gold*. The great *spring of eloquence*, is within our inclosures ; it pours along with *irresistible force*, as from a—*Flood*—never to be exhausted, and will, we hope, sweep away the very dregs of corruption. We have an *Hyde*, a *Made*, an *O'Callaghan*, the *Rams*, a *Levinge*—a *Johnston*, a *Burton*, the *Prestons*, a *Pepper*, an *Henry*, a *Cooper* : a *Montgomery*, and a *Lucas*, who did very well last session, and will, we hope, *continue in the path of the just*. We doubt not, from the *worth* of a *Le Hunte*, but he would side with us, without a *Ponsonby*. A *Burgh* is our own, for he *loves a substantial act of justice*. If an *Hatch* goes on, as he has begun, the borough of *Swords* will be his own, that is, if in future he keeps out, *Muckworm*, the *rich man's namesake*. What need I mention, a *Packenham* *most honourable*—or the singular honesty of a *Devonshire*, whose country never lay at the mercy of any passion, either for *wine* or *women*, but would at once fly from both to serve it. A *Rara Avis*, surely ! Several characters shall again be introduced, particularly some that are, and have been, *hard mouthed*, or who ran, on the *wrong side of the post*. Should even an *Adder*—*ly* in the way,
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he shall be dissected, and his political poison, if possible, be extracted to prevent further mischief. In the above genuine catalogue, *cum multis aliis*, yet to be mentioned, none are, nor shall be put down, that may be called *muzzled members, puppets, hangers on*, or that are under the word of *command*, and in *leading strings*, even tho' they have sometimes (*when ordered*) turned to the *right about for us*. All such, we consider, as *spurious productions*, and unworthy of public estimation. In the mean time, having so noble a band of tried patriots, to preserve our rights, let the *real friends to liberty firmly stand* by one another: Let them zealously support, and give their confidence and gratitude to *uniformly honest* representatives. They are intitled to this, and it is both our interest and duty to do so. Slaves will attempt to *divide*, and consequently *weaken* us. Let an unremitting vigilance be observed against all such evil attempts; nor the least open be given, thro' which the enemy may pass, to sow the seeds of diffidence and dissention amongst the sons of freedom. The very existence of a *free state*, depends on the *spirit of liberty*, being kept *continually* awake, and a proper jealousy of our rights *constantly* maintained. Search, with inexpressible pleasure sees, a *growing, generous* independence, among his fellow-citizens

zens—and that a respectable society is now forming, against all enslaving schemes—and to baffle the wicked attempts to introduce an *Union, Land Tax, and Stamp Act*, into this almost exhausted country. May fame and success attend—our *Bill of Rights Men*, in so *seasonable* and *virtuous* an enterprise! I say *seasonable*; for Humphrey has got a *little—weeny* peep—so much as to tell him, that an *Union, or Land Tax*, is resolved on, and a *Stamp Act* to be attempted. The *rehearsal for an Union* I have heard of, and likewise the *grand dance* introduced, *to the tune of, over the hills and far away*; *Phil*, the attorney's *black list*, which he carries about as his *Vade Mecum*, pulling it out, in divers great places, with a *certain meritorious, self-sufficient solemnity* and *half-sneer*, which mark the movements of our *Hibernian Machiavel*,—Some curious anecdotes, relating to said *list and names*, shall be given as occasion offers.—I shall, however, be slow in believing that Lord Harcourt will act inconsistent with the principles of honour and liberty, or the character he has hitherto sustained; but time will shew all things. Of this great truth we are certain, that *the baary head, can only be a crown of glory, when found in the way of righteousness*. We may justly add, that no administration in this kingdom, can ever be prosperous

rous and happy, but what shall be founded on constitutional freedom ; attended with *sincere, open, active endeavours*, to promote the *welfare* of the people, and to preserve, *intire*, their *ancient, legal, natural rights and privileges*.

Humphrey Search.

T H E E N D.

1907

